

The boke

named the Gouvernour,
devised by s^r Tho-
mas Elyot
knight.

Londini in edibus Tho.
Bertheleti . An. dñi
M. D. xxi.



Handwritten note at the bottom of the page:
This booke is the first of the Governour, and is the first of the series of booke
The first booke is the first of the series of booke

Consydering that in settinge the letters to print
there can nat be alway so exarte diligence vseh / But
that some thing may happe to eshape worthy correc-
tion / all though Argus were the artificer. I therfore
wyl desyre the gentill reders of this warke that oz
they seriously rede it / they will amende the defautes
in printynge accoꝝdinge to the instructions immedi-
ately folowynge.

CThe fautes.

CThe. viiij. lese the thirde lyne / for he rede be.
The. xxxij. lese / put out the. iij. iij. v. vi. lyne and
rede for them. where it is to be noted that immedia-
tely befoze. Thetis the mother of Achilles desired
Jupiter importunately to inclyne his fauour to the
parte of the Trojanes. The. xxxix. lese the. xij.
lyne rede to the empire. The. liij. the thirde lyne put
out firste booke / and rede. v. and. vi. chapters. The
lxxxviij. the. vi. line / for saluation rede saltation. The
Cvi. the. l. lyne put out Theodosius. The. Cxxvij.
lese the laste line / is called piteous whiche is a sick-
nesse. The. Cxxix. the seconde lyne / for of rede oz.
The. Cxxxv. the. xxi. lyne rede Penopson condisci-
ple of Plato. The. Cxxxix. the. xxi. lyne / after re-
proued / put out all the residue on that syde. The.
Cxxxiij. the. xxx. lyne / rede in the whiche. The.
Cxxxvij. the seconde lyne / for thou rede they. The
Cxxxviij. & xxiij. line / rede disseasist. the. Cxxxx.
the firste lyne / rede was kynge. The. Cxxxxij. the
xiiij. lyne / rede notorious / the. xxxij. lyne / for as rede
is. The. Cxv. the. xlvij. lyne / at the leste / rede at
the laste / the. xlvij. lyne rede at the leste. The.
Cxi. the. xxx. lyne rede do grue. The. Cxxxvij.
the. x. lyne / rede may be.

The prologue.

The prologue of Thomas Elyot knyghte
vnto the moste noble & victorious pryncce
kinge Henry the eyght kyng of Eng-
lande and Fraunce / defender of
the true saythe / and lorde
of Irelande.



Late consideringe (moste excel-
lent pryncce and myne onely re-
doughted soueraigne lorde) my
duetie that I owe to my natu-
rall contray / with my saythe
also of aliegeaunce and othe / wherewith I
am double bounden vnto your maiestie /
more ouer thaccompt that I haue to rendre
for that one litle talent deliuered to me / to
employe (as I suppose) to the increase of
vertue / I am (as god iuge me) violently ste-
red to deuulgate or sette fourth some part
of my studie / trustyng the by tacquite me
of my dueties to god / your hyghnesse / and
this my contray. wherfore takinge cōfort &
boldenesse partly of your graces moste be-
nevolent inclination toward the vniuersall
weale of your subiectes / partly inflamed
with zeale / I haue nowe enterprised to de-
scribe in our vulgare tunge the fourme of a
iuste publike weale : whiche mater I haue

a.ij.

garbe.

The Prologue.

gathered as well of the sayenges of mosse
noble autours (grekes and latynes) as by
myne owne experience: I beinge continually
trayned in some dayly affaires of the pu-
blike weale of this your mosse noble realme
all mooste from my chyllhode. whiche at-
temptate is nat of presumption to teache
any persone / I my selfe hayinge mosse neede
of teachinge : But onely to the intent that
men / which wil be studious about the weale
publike / may fynde the thinge therto expe-
dient cōpendiously writen. And for as moch
as this present boke treateth of the educa-
tion of them / that hereafter may be demed
worthy to be gouernours of the publike
weale vnder your hyghnesse (whiche Plato
affirmeth to be the firste and chiefe parte of
a publyke weale / Salomon sayenge also /
where gouernours be nat / the people shall
falle in to ruine.) I therfore haue named it
the gouernour / & do nowe dedicate it vnto
your hyghnesse as the fyrste frutes of my
studye: verely trustyng that your mosse ex-
cellent wysedome wyll therein esteeme my
loyall harte and diligent endeouour / by the
example of Artaxerxes the noble kynge of
Persia: who reiected nat the pore husbond
man / whiche offred to hym his homely
bandes

The Proseme.

bandes full of cleane water / but mooste graciously receyued it with thanks / estemyng the present nat after the value / but rather to the wyll of the gyuer. * Semblably kynge Alexander retayned with hym the poete Lherilus bonozably / for writing his bistorie all though that the poete was but of a small estimation : whiche that prynce dyd nat for lacke of iugement / he beyng of excellent lernynge as dissciple to Aristotell : but to thentent that his liberalite employed on Lherilus / shulde animate or gyue courage to others moche better lerned / to contende with hym in a semblable enterpryse. And if / mooste vertuous prince / I may perceyue your hyghnes to be herewith pleased / I shal sone after (god giuing me quietnes) present your grace with the residue of my studie and labours . wherein your hyghnes shal well perceiue that I nothing esteeme so moche in this worlde as youre royall estate (my most dere soueraine lord / and the publike weale of my contray / protesting vnto your excellent maiestie / that where I commend berin any one vertue or dispraise any one vice / I meane the generall description of thone and thother without any other particuler meanynge to the re-

The prohemie: X

proche of any one persone: to the whiche
protestation I am nowe dryuen throughe
the malignite of this present tyme / all dis-
posed to malicious detraction. wherfore I
mooste humbly beseeche your hyghnes / to
dayne to be patrone and defendour of this
litle warke / agayne the assaultes of maligne
interpretours: whiche sayle nat to rente &
desace the renoume of wryters / they
them selves beinge in nothinge to
the publike weale profitable:
whiche is by no man sooner
perceyued than by your
hyghnes beinge bothe
in wysedome and
very nobilitie
equall to
the
most excel-
lent princes / whome
I beseeche god ye may sur-
mount in longe life and perfect felicitie.
Amen.

The table.

The table of the first booke of
the Governour.



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and why it is called in latyne
Respublica. Cap. i. fol. primo.

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ought to be in a publike weale/ and what
damage hath hapned by lackyng one so-
ueraygne gouvernour. La. ij. fo. 6.

That in a publyke weale oughte to be in-
ferior gouvernours called magistratis. iij. 15.

The Education or fourme of bryngyng vpp
the chylde of a gentilman which is to haue
auctorite in the publike weale. La. iiij. fo. 15.

The ordre of lernyng before the childe com-
meth to thage of. vij. yeres. cap. v. fo. 18.

whan a Tutor shulde be puided / & what
shall appertaine to his office. La. vi. fo. 20.

In what wyse musike may be a to noble
man necessary. La. viij. fo. 21.

That it is commendable in a gentilman to
paynte or karue exactely if nature do therto
induce hym. Cap. viij. fo. 24.

what exacte diligence shulde be in chosinge
of maisters. Cap. ix. fo. 28.

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the lesson of Poetes.** Cap.xi.fo.35.

**Why gentyll men in this present time be nat
equall in doctrine to tbauciet noble men.**

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Cap.xij.fo.45.

**Dowe the studentes in the lawes of this
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and Persians.** Cap.xviii.fo.69.

That all daunsinge is nat to be reprovied.
Cap.xix.fo.74.

**The fyrst begynnyng of daunsyng / and the
olde estimation therof.** Cap.xx.fo.76.

**Wherefore in the good ordre of daunsyng
a man and a woman do daunse together.**

Cap.xxi.fo.82.

**How daunsing may be an introduction into
the fyrst morall vertue called Prudence.**

Cap.xxij.fo.83.

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- Of Circumspection. La. xxiiij. fo. 88.
- Of selection experience & modestie. ca. xxv. 92.
- Of other exercyses, whiche moderately
vied be to euerie astate of man expedient.
Cap. xvi. fo. 94.
- That shotyng in a longe bowe is principall
of all other exercises. Cap. xxvij. fo. 98.

The seconde booke.

- W**hat thing be that is elected to be a go
uernour of a publyke weale ought to
premeditate. Cap. primo. fo. 101.
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- Of apparaile belongynge to a gouernour
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every gouernour.

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Apelles the noble paintour. ca. xvi. 250.

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sion of this warke. Lap. xxix. fo. 256.

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The firste booke.

The significacion of a publike
weale/and why it is called
in latin *Respublica*.



Publike Weale is in
sondry wyse defined by phi-
losophers/ but knowyng by
experience/ that the often re-
petitiō of any thing of graue
or sad importance/ wyll be tedious to the
reders of this warke/ who pchance for the
more parte haue nat ben trayned in lerning
contaynyng semblable matter: I haue cō-
piled one definition out of many/ in as com-
pendious fourme/ as my poure witte can
deuise: trustyng that in those fewe wordes
the trewe significacion of a publike weale
shall evidently appere/ to them whom rea-
son can satisfie.

A publike weale is a body lyuyng/ cōpacte
or made of sondry astates and degrees of
men/ whiche is disposed by the ordre of e-
quite/ and gouerned by the rule and mode-
ration of reason. In the latin tonge hit is
called *Respublica*/ of the whiche the worde
Res/ hath diuers significacions/ & dothe nat
only betoken that/ that is called a thyng/
whiche is distincte from a persone/ but also

publike
weale.

Respub-
lica.

A

signi-

The Gouerment.

signifieth astate / condition / substance / and
plebe. profite. In our olde vulgare / pfitte is called
weale : And it is called a welthy contraye /
wherin is all thyng that is profitable : And
he is a welthy man / that is riche in money
and substance. Publike (as Varro saith) is
diuied of people : whiche in latin is cal-
led Populus. wherfore hit semeth that men
haue ben lōge abused in calling Rempublika a
cōmune weale. And they which do suppose
it so to be called for that / that euery thinge
shulde be to all men in cōmune without di-
scerpance of any astate or condition / be ther
to moued more by sensualife / than by any
good reason or inclinatio to humanite. And
that shall sone appere vnto them that wyll
be satisfied either with autorite / or with na-
turall ordre and example.

Fyrst the ppre & trewe signification of the
wordes publike & cōmune / whiche be boro-
wed of the latin tonge for the insufficiēcie of
our owne lāgage / shal sufficiētly declare the
blyndenes of them / whiche haue hitherto
holden and maynteyned the sayde opiniōs.
As I haue sayde / publike toke his begyn-
nyng of people : whiche in latin is Populus :
Populus. in whiche worde is conteyned all the inha-
bitantes of a realme or citie / of what astate
or cona

or condition so euer they be.

persons in englishe is called the comunaltie/
which signifieth only the multitude/wher
in be contayned the base & vulgare inhabi-
tantes/nat auaced to any honour or digni-
te: whiche is also ysed in our dayly comu-
nication/for in the citie of London & other
cities/they that be none aldermen/or she-
riffes/be called comuners: And in the coun-
trei at a cessions / or other assembly / if no
gentyl men be there at/the sayenge is/that
there was none but the comunalte: whiche
proueth in myn oppinion that persons in latine
is in englishe comunaltie: & persons be comu-
ners. And consequently there may appere
lyke diuersitie to be in englishe /betwene a
publike weale & a comune weale/as shulde
be in latin betwene Res publica and Res per-
sona. And after that signification / if there
shuld be a comune weale /either the comu-
ners oly must be welthy/& the gentyl & noble
men neddy & miserable/or els excluding gentili-
te/al men must be of one degre & sort/& a new
name prouided. For as moche as persons in la-
tin & comuners in englishe be wordes only
made for the discrepance of degrees: wher-
of precedeth orde: whiche in thinges as wel

publike.

publike &
comune.

orde.

Al.ij.

suche

The Gouernour.

Chaos.

suche a preeminēce/that therby the incomprehensible maicstie of god as it were by a bright leme of a torche or cadel is declared to the blynde inhabitantes of this worlde. More ouer take away ordre from all thynges/what shulde than remayne? certes nothyng finally/except some man wolde imagine estsones / Chaos: whiche of some is expounde a cōfuse mixture: Also where there is any lacke of ordre/nedes muste be perpetuall conflict: And in thynges subiecte to Nature/nothyng of hym selfe onely may be noriss hed: but whan he hath destroyed that/where with he dothe pticipate/by the ordre of his creation/he hym selfe of necessity muste than periss he / wherof ensuethe yniuersall dissolution.

¶ But nowe to proue by example of those thynges that be within the cōpasse of mannes knowlege/of what estimation ordre is/nat onely amonge men / but also with god/all be it his wisdom/bounte/and magnificence / can be with no tonge or penne sufficiently expressed. Hath nat he set degrees and astates in all his glorious warkes?

Fyrst in his heuēly ministres/whom/as the church affirmeth/he hath cōstituted to be in diuers degrees / called hierarches. Also

Christe

Christe saith by his euangelist / that in the
house of his father (which is god) be many
mansions. But to treat of that / whiche
by naturall vnderstandyng may be compré-
hended / Beholde the foure elemētes : wher-
of the body of man is cōpacte / howe they
be set in their places / called spheris / higher
or lower / accordyng to the soueraintie of
theyr natures : that is to saye / the fyre / as
the most pure element / hauyng in it nothig
that is corruptible / in his place is higheste
and aboue other elemētes : The ayer / whi-
che next to the fyre is most pure in substāce /
is in the secōde sphere or place : The water /
whiche is some what cōsolidate and appro-
cheth to corruption / is next vnto the erthe :
The erthe whiche is of substāce grosse and
pōderous / is set of all elemētes most lowest.

Elements

Beholde also the ordre that god hath put
generally in al his creatures / begynnyng at
the moste inferiour or base / and assendyng
vpwarde : he made nat only herbes to gar-
nish the erthe / but also trees of a more e-
minent stature than herbes / and yet in the
one and the other be degrees of qualitees /
some pleasant to beholde / some delicate or
good in taste / other holsome & medicinable /
some cōmodious and necessary : Seblably in

A.iiij.

by: deo.

The Governour.

byrdes/beestis/and fiffhes/some be good for
the sustinance of man : some beare thynges
profitable to sondry vses : other be apte to
occupation & labour : in diuerse is strength
and fierenes only : in many is both strēgth
& cōmoditie : some other serue for pleasure :
none of them bath all these qualities : fewe
haue the more part or many / specially beau
tie / strēgth / & pñte. But where any is fōūde
that bath many of the said pperties / he is
more set by thā all the other / & by that esti
mation the ordre of his place & degree eui
dentlye apperethe : so that euery kynde of
trees/herbes/birdes/beastis/and fiffhes/be
syde theyr diuersitie of fourmes / haue (as
who sayth) a peculier disposition appropo
red vnto them by god theyr creatour : so
that in euery thyng is ordre : and without
ordre may be nothing stable or permanent :
And it may nat be called ordre / excepte it do
contayne in it degrees / high and base / accor
dyng to the merite or estimation of the
thyng that is ordred.

☞ Nowe to retourne to the astate of man
kynde / for whose vse all the sayd creatures
were ordayned of god / and also excelleth
them all by prerogative of knowlege & wise
dome / but semeth that in hym shulde be no
lasse

lasse prouidence of god declared thā in the
inferiour creatures: but rather with a more
perfecte ordre and dissposition. And there-
fore hit appereth that god gyueth nat to e-
uery man like gyftes of grace/or of nature/
but to some more/some lesse/as it liketh his
diuine maiestie. Ne they be nat in cōmune
(as fāsticall foles wolde haue all thyng)
nor one man hath nat al vertues/and good
qualities. Nat withstanding for as mo-
che as vnderstandyng is the most excellent
gyfte that man can receiue in his creation:
wherby he doth approche most nyghe vn-
to the similitude of god: whiche vnderstā-
dyng is the principall parte of the soule:
It is therfore congruent / and accordyng/
that as one excelleth an other in that influ-
ēce/as therby beinge next to the similitude
of his maker / so shulde the astate of his
psone be auanced in degree/or place/where
vnderstandyng may pfit: whiche is also
distributed in to sondry vses / faculties/and
offices/necessary for the lyuyng and gouer-
nance of mākynde. And like as the angels/
whiche be most feruent in cōtemplation/be
highest exalted in glorie (after the opinion
of holy doctours) and also the fire/whiche
is the most pure of elemētes/and also doth

vnderstā-
dyng.

The Governour.

clarifie the other inferiour elemētes : is deputed to the highest sphere or place : So in this worlde / they whiche excelle other in this influence of vnderstandyng / and do imploye it to the detaynyng of other within the boundes of reason / and shewe them howe to prouyde for theyr necessarye lyuynge : suche oughte to be set in a more highe place than the residue : where they may se / & also be sene / that by the beames of theyr excellent witte / shewed throughe the glasse of auctorite : other of inferiour vnderstādyng / may be directed to the way of vertue and commodious liuynge.

honour.

And vnto mē of suche vertue by very eqtie apptaineth honour / as theyr iuste rewarde & duetie : whiche by other mennes labours must also be maintained / according to their merites. For as moche as the saide psones excelling in knowlege / wherby other be gouerned / be ministers for the only pfitte and cōmoditie of them / whiche haue nat equall vnderstandyng : where they whiche do exercise artificiall science / or corporall labour / do nat trauayle for theyr superiours onely / but also for theyr owne necessitie. So the husbāde man fedetbe hym selfe and the clotbe maker : the clotbe maker apparayleth

leth hym selfe & the husbāde: they both so-
cour other artificers: other artificers the:
they and other artificers/ them that be go-
uernours. But they that be gouernours
(as I before sayde) nothinge do acquire by
the sayde influence of knowlege / for theyz
owne necessities/ but do imploye all the po-
wers of theyz wittes and theyz diligence to
the only preservation of other theyz inferi-
ours: Amonge whiche inferiours also be-
houeth to be a disposition and ordre accor-
dyng to reason: that is to saye / that the
slouthfull or idell psone / do nat participate
with hym that is industrious / and taketh
payne: wherby the frutes of his labours
shulde be diminissed / wherin shulde be
none equalite/ but therof shulde pcede di-
scourage/ and finally dissolution for lacke of
prouision. wherfore it can none other wyse
stāde with reason/ but that the estate of the
persone in preeminence of lyuynge / shulde
be esteemed with his vnderstādyng/ labour/
and policie: where vnto muste be added an
augmentation of honour and substance:
whiche nat onely impressetbe a reuerence/
wherof procedethe due obedience amonge
subiectes: but also inflameth mē naturally
inclined to idelnes / or sensuall appetite / to

A. v.

coueyt

The Governour.

coneyte lyke fortune: and for that cause/ to dispose them to studie or occupation.

Nowe to conclude my fyrst assertion or argument/where all thyng is cōmune/ there lacketh ordre: and where ordre lacketh/ there all thyng is odious/ and vncomly. And that haue we in dayly experience: for the pannes and pottes/ garnisheth wel the ketchyn/ and yet shulde they be to the chābre none ornamēt. Also the beddes/ testars/ & pillowes besemeth nat the halle/ no more than the carpettes and kushyns becometh the stable. Semblably the pōtter & tynker/ only perfecte in theyr craftes/ shall littell do in the ministration of iustice. A ploughmā or carter/ shall make but a feble answer to an ambassadour. Also a wayuer or fuller/ shulde be an ynniete capitaine of an armie/ or in any other office of a gouernour.

wherfore to conclude it is onely a publike weale/ where like as god hath disposed the saide influence of vnderstandyng/ is also appointed degrees and places accordyng to the excellencie therof/ and therto also wold be substance conuenient/ and necessarye for the ornament of the same: whiche also impresseth a reuerence and due obedience to the vulgare people or cōmunaltie/ and with

out

out that it cā be no more said / that there is
a publike weale / thā it may be affirmed that
a house without his propre and necessarye
ornamētes / is well & sufficiently furnished.

☛ That one soueraigne gouernour ought
to be in a publike weale. And what da-
mage hath happened / where a mul-
titude hath had equal authorite
withont any soueraygne.

Cap. ij.



Like as to a castell or fortresse
suffiseth the one owner or soue-
raygne / and where any mo be
of like power and authoritie /
seldome cometh the warke to
perfection : or beinge all redy made / where
the one diligently ouerseeth / and the other
neglecteth / in that contention all is subuer-
ted and commeth to ruyne : In semblable
wyse dothe a publike weale / that hath mo
chiefe gouernours than one. Example we
may take of the grekes / amonge whom in
diuers cities / weare diuers fourmes of pu-
blyke weales / gouerned by multitudes :
wherin one was most tollerable / where the
gouernance and rule was alway permitted
to them / whiche excelled in vertue / and was
in the

The Governour.

Aristo-
cratia.

in the greke tonge called *Aristocratia* in latin *Optimorum Potentia* in englishe the rule of men of beste disposition. whiche the Thebanes of longe tyme obserued.

An other publique weale was amonge the Atheniensis where equalitie was of astate amōge the people / and only by theyr holle consent theyr citie and dominions were gouerned: whiche moughte well be called a Monstre with many heedes: nor neuer it was certeyne nor stable: and often tymes they banysed or slewe the beste citezins: whiche by their vertue and wisdom had moſte profited to the publike weale.

Democ-
ratia.

This maner of gouernaunce was called in greke *Democratia* in latin *Popularis potentia*: in englishe the rule of the comunialtie. Of these two gouernances / none of them may be sufficient. For in the fyrste whiche consisteth of good men / vertue is nat so constant in a multitude / but that some beinge ones in authoritie be incensed with glorie: some with ambition: other with coueitise and desyre of treasure or possessions: where by they falle in to contention: and finallye where any achieuethe the superioritie / the holle gouernance is reduced vnto a fewe in nobilitie whiche fearige the multitude & their

mutas

mutabilitie to the intent to kepe the in drede
to rebelle / ruleth by terrour / and crueltie:
thinkig therby / to kepe the selfe in suertie:
nat withstanding / rancour coarcted & longe
detained in a narowe rounge / at the last bra-
steth out with intollerable violence / & bryn-
geth al to confusion. For the power that is
practized to the hurte of many / can nat con-
tinue. The popolare astate / if it any thing
do varie from equalitie of substance / or esti-
matio: or that the multitude of people haue
ouer moche liberte / of necessite one of these
incōueniences muste happen: either tirāny/
where he that is to moche in fauour wolde
be cleuate / and suffre none equalite: or els in
to the rage of a cōmunaltie / whiche / of all
rules is moſte to be feared. For lyke as the
cōmunes / if they fele some seueritie / they do
humbly serue and obaye / so where they im-
bracinge a licence / refuse to be brydled / they
flynge and plunge: and if they ones throwe
downe theyr gouernour / they ordre euery
thyng without iustice: only with vengeance
and crueltie: and with incomparable diffi-
cultie / and vnneth by any wysedome / be pa-
cified & brought agayne in to ordre: wher-
fore vndoubtedly / the best and most sure go-
uernace / is by one kynge or prince: whiche
ruleth

The Governour

ruleth onely for the weale of his people to
hym subiecte : and that maner of gouer-
naunce is beste approued / and hath longest
continued / and is moſte auncient : For who
can denie / but that all thyng in heuen and
erthe is gouerned by one god / by one per-
petuall ordre / by one prouidence ? One Sonne
ruleth ouer the day / and one Moone ouer
the nyghte : and to descende downe to the
erthe / in a litell beest / whiche of all other is
moſte to be maruayled at / I meane the bee /
is lefte to man by nature / as hit ſemeth / a
perpetuall figure of a iuſte gouernaunce or
rule : who hath amonge them one principall
bee for theyr gouernour / who excelleth all
other in greatnes / yet hath he no pricke or
ſtinge / but in hym is more knowlege than in
the residue. For if the day folowyng / ſhall
be fayre and drye / and that the bees may
iſſue out of theyr ſtalles without peryll of
rayne / or vehement wynde / in the mornyng
erely he calleth them / making a noyſe as it
were the ſowne of a horne / or a trumpet / &
with that / all the residue prepare them to
labour / & fleeth abroad / gathering nothig /
but that ſhall be ſwete and profitable / all
though they ſitte often tymes on herbes / &
other thyges that be venomous & ſtynkig.

The

The capitayne hym selfe laboureth nat for his sustinance/ but all the other for hym: he onely seeth / that if any drane or other vnprofitable bee / entreth in to the hyue / and consumethe the hony gathered by other / that he be immediately expelled from that company. And whā there is a nother nombre of bees encreased / they semblably haue also a capitayne / whiche be nat suffered to cōtinue with the other. wherfore this newe company gathered in to a swarme / hauyng their capitayne amonge them : and enuironyng hym to preserue hym from harme / they issue forth sekyng a newe habitation : whiche they fynde in some tree / except with some pleasant noyse they be alured and cōuayed vnto an other hyue. I suppose who seriously beholdeth this example / and hath any cōmendable witte / shall therof gather moche matter to the fourmyng of a publike weale. But bicause I may nat be longe therein / consideryng my purpose / I wolde that if the reder herof be lerned / that he shulde repayze to the Georgikes of Virgile / or to Plini / or Collumella : where he shall fynde the example more ample and better declared,

And

The Gouvernour

And if any desireth to haue the gouernace
of one persone proued by histories/let hym
fyrste resorte to the holy scripture: where
he shall fynde that almyghty god coman-
ded Moses only/to brynge his elected peo-
ple out of captiuite/gyuynge onely to hym
that authoritie/without appoyntyng to
hym any other assistance of equall power
or dignitie: excepte in the message to kynge
Pharo/wherin Aaron rather as a ministre
than a companion/wente with Moses.

But onely Moses conducted the people
through the redde see: he onely gouerned
them fourtie yeres in deserte. And bicause
Dathan and Abiron disdayned his rule/
and coueyted to be equall with hym/the
erthe opened/and fyre issued out/and swa-
lowed them in/with all their holle familie/
and confederates/to the nombze of .14700.
And all though he Dietro/Moses father in
lawe/couñsailed hym to departe his impor-
table labours in continual iugemētes/vnto
the wise men that were in his company: he
nat withstandynge/styll retayned the soue-
raintie/by goddis commandement/vntyll a
litle before he dyed/he resigned it to Josue/
assigned by god to be ruler after hym. Sé-
blably after the detb of Josue/by the space

of

of .246. yeres succeded from tyme to tyme/
 one ruler amonge the Jewes / whiche was
 chosen for his excellencie in vertue / & spe-
 ciallye iustice. wherfore he was called the
 iuge / vntill the Israelites desired of almightie
 god to let them haue a kynge / as other
 people had : who appointed to them Saul
 to be theyr kynge / who exceded all other in
 stature : And so successiuelly one kynge go-
 uerned all the people of Israell / vnto the
 tyme of Roboaz sonne of the noble kynge
 Salomon. who beinge vnlike to his father
 in wisdom / practised tyranny amonge his
 people. wherfore .ix. partes of them / which
 they called Tribus / forsoke hym / & elected
 Hieroboaz / late seruant to Salomon / to be
 theyr kynge / onely the .x. parte remaynyng
 with Roboaz. And so in that realme were
 continually two kynges / vntill the kynge of
 Mede had depopulate the countrey / and
 brought the people in captiuite to the citie
 of Babylon : So that duryng the tyme
 that two kynges rayned ouer the iewes / was
 ever cōtinuall bataile amonge them selves :
 where if one kynge had alway rayned lyke
 to Dauid or Solomon / of lykelyhode the
 countrey shuld nat so sone haue ben brought
 in captiuite. Also in the tyme of the Ma-

Saul.

Roboaz.

Machabees.

B

chabeis/

The Gouverneur.

chabeis/as longe as they had but one biss-
shop/whiche was their ruler / & was in the
stede of a prince/at that dayes they valiantly
resisted the gētils : & as well the Romanes/
thā great lordes of the worlde/as Persiās/
and diuers other realmes / desired to haue
with them amitie and aliaunce : and all the
inhabitātes of that countrey/liued in great
weale and quietnes : But after that by sy-
mony and ambition / there happened to be
two biss hops/whiche deuided their autho-
rities / and also the Romanes had deuided
the realme of Judea to foure princes/called
tetrarchas / and also constituted a Romane
capitayne or president ouer them : amonge
the beddes there neuer cessed to be seditiō/
and perpetuall discorde : wherby at the last
the people was destroyed / and the contray
brought to desolation & horrible barrēnes.
The Grekes/which were assēbled to reuēge
the reproche of Menelaus / that he toke of
the Troiās by the raiussing of Helene his
wyfe/dyd nat they by one assent electe Aga-
mēnon to be their emperour or capitain : o-
beinge him as they: soueraine / duryng the
siege of Troy : al though that they had di-
uers excellent princes / nat onely equall to
bym/but also excelling hym/as in pwees A-
chiles/

Princes
of Grece.

chilles/ & Ajax Thelemonius: in wisdom
 Nestor/ & Ulysses/ & his owne brother/ Me-
 nelaus: to whom they mought haue giuen
 equall authoritie with Agamemnon: but
 those wise princes considered that without
 a generall capitayne/ so many persones as
 were there/ of diuers realmes gathered to-
 gither/ shulde be by no meanes well gouer-
 ned: wherfore Homere calleth Agamemnon
 the shepeherde of people: they rather were
 contented to be vnder one mannes obediēce/
 than seuerally to vse theyr authorities/ or
 to ioyne in one power & dignite/ wherby at
 the last shuld haue soured discētiō amōge
 the people/ they beinge seperately enclined
 towarde theyr naturall souerayne lorde/ as
 it appered in the particuler contention that
 was betwene Achilles and Agamemnon for
 theyr concubines/ where Achilles renoun-
 cyng the obedience that he with all other
 princes had before promised/ at the bataile
 fyrst enterprised agaynst the Troians. For
 at that tyme no litell murmur/ and sedition
 was meued in the hoste of the grekes/ whi-
 che nat withstanding was wonderfully pa-
 cified: and the armie vnsclattered/ by the
 maiestie of Agamemnon/ ioyninge to hym
 counsaillours/ Nestor/ and the witty Ulysses.

Agamem-
non.

founded

Achilles.

Nestor.
Ulysses.

B.ij.

But

The Governour.

Abandoned

Abusively

But to retourne agayne. Athenes & other cities of Grece whan they had abandoned kynges : and concluded to lyue as it were in a cōmunaltie/whiche abusively they called equalitie : howe lōge tyme dyd any of them continue in peace ? yea what vacation had they from the warres ? or what noble man had they/whiche auanced the honour and weale of theyr citie : whom they dyd nat banish he or slee in prison ? Surely it shall appiere to them/that wyll rede Plutarche or Emilius probus/in the lyues of Milciades / Limon / Themistocles / Aristides / and diuers other noble and valiant capitaynes : whiche is to longe here to reherce.

Kyngs in Rome.

Lucretia.

In lyke wyse the Romanes / durynge the tyme that they were vnder kynges / which was by the space of .144. yeres / were well gouerned / nor neuer was amōge them discorde or sedition : But after that by the persuation of Brutus & Colatinus / whose wyfe (Lucretia) was rauysht by Aruncius / sonne of Tarquine / kynge of Romanes / nat only the saide Tarquine and al his posterite / were exiled out of Rome for euer / but also it was finally determined amonge the people / that neuer aft they wolde haue a kinge reigne over them. Consequētly the comu-

comunalitie more and more encroched a licence/and at the last compelled the Senate to suffre them to chose yerely amonge them gouernours of theyr owne astate and condition/whom they called Tribunes: vnder whom they resceyued suche audacitie and power/that they finally optained the higheste authoritie in the publike weale / in so moche that oftentimes they dyd repele the members of the Senate/and to those Tribunes mought a man appele from the Senate/or any other office or dignite. But what came therof in conclusion? Surely whan there was any difficulte warre immynent / than were they constrained to electe one soueraine and chiefe of all other/whom they named Dictator/as it were commander / from whom it was nat lafull for any man to appele.

encroched

Tribunes

repele

Dictator.

But bicause there appered to be in hym the pristiniate authorite and maiestie of a kyng/they wolde no longer suffre hym to continue in that dignite/than by the space of .viij. monethes / excepte he than resigned it / and by the consente of the people citsones dyd resume it. Finally vntill Octavius Augustus had destroyed Anthony / and also Brutus : & finished all the Liule warres (that were so called by cause they were betwene the

warres
Ciuile.

B. iij.

same

The Governour.

same selfe Romane citez is) the cite of Rome was neuer longe quiete from factions or seditions amonge the people. And if the nobles of Rome had nat ben men of excellent lernynge/wisedome/and prowesse/and that the Senate/the moſte noble counsaile in all the worlde/whiche was fyrſte ordayned by Romulus/ & encreased by Tullus hoſtilius/ the thyrde kyng of Romanes/had nat continued / and with great difficultie retayned theyr authorite. I ſuppoſe verily/ that the cite of Rome had ben vtterly deſolate ſone after the expellyng of Tarquine : And if it had bene eſtſones renewed / it ſhulde haue bene twentye tymes deſtroyed / before the tyme that Auguſtus raigned : ſo moche diſcorde was euer in the cite/for lacke of one gouernour. But what nede we to ſerche ſo ferre from vs/ſens we haue ſufficient examples nere vnto vs ? Beholde the aſtate of Florence and Gene/noble cites of Italy/ what calamite haue they both ſuſtained by their owne factions / for lacke of a cōtinuall gouernour. Ferrare/and the moſte excellent cite of Veniſe/the one hauyng a duke/ the other an erle/ſeldome ſuffreth damage/ excepte it happen by outwarde hoſtilitie. we haue alſo an exāple domiſtical: whiche is moſte

Florence
and Gene

Ferraria.

Englande
deuided.

is moſte neceſſary to be noted. After that
the Saxons by treaſon had expelled out of
Englande the Britons / whiche were the
auncient inhabitantes: this realme was de-
uyded in to ſondry regions / or kyngdomes.
O what myſery was the people then in:
O howe this moſt noble Iſle of the worlde
was decerpt and rent in pieces: the people
pursued and hunted lyke wolſes / or other
beaſtes ſauage: none industrie auayled / no
ſtrength defended / no riches profited. who
wolde thā haue deſired to haue ben rather
a man than a dogge / whan men either with
ſworde or with hungre periſſhed / hauynge
no profite or ſuſtinance of their owne corne
or catell / whiche by mutuall warre was cō-
tinually diſtroyed: yet the dogges / either
takynge that that men coulde nat quietly
come by / or fedyng on the deed bodies /
whiche on euery parte laye ſcatered plen-
teouſly / dyd ſatiſſie theyr hunger.

Where finde ye any good lawes / that
at that tyme were made and vſed: or any
cōmendable monument / of any ſcience or
craſte in this realme occupied: ſuche ini-
quitie ſemeth to be than that by the multi-
tude of ſoueraigne gouernours / all thinges
had ben brought to confuſion / if the noble

B. iij.

kyng

Ravage

The Governour.

Kynge
Edgar.

kinge Edgar had nat reduced the monarch
to his pristinate astate and figure : whiche
brought to passe / reason was reuiued / and
people came to conformitie / and the realme
began to take comferte / and to shewe some
visage of a publike weale : and so (lauded
be god) haue continued : but nat beinge al-
way in like astate or condition. All be it it is
nat to be dispaired / but that the kynge our
soueraigne lorde nowe reigntyng / and this
realme alway hauyng one prince / like vnto
his highnes / equall to the auncient princis /
in vertue and courage / it shall be reduced
(god so disposyng) vnto a publike weale /
excellynge all other in preeminence of ver-
tue / and abundance of thynges necessary.

But for as moche as I do wel perceiue
that to write of the office or ductie of a soue-
raigne gouernour or prince / farre exceedeth
the compasse of my lernyng / holy scripture
affirmyng / that the hartes of princes be in
goddes owne handes & disposition : I wyll
therfore kepe my penne within the space
that is discribed to me / by the thre noble
maisters / reason / lernyng / and experience.

en seynement

And by theyr enseynement or teachyng / I
wyll ordynately treate of the two partes of
a publike weale : wherof the one shall be
named

named Due administration/the other Necessary Occupation / whiche shall be di-
 uided in to two volumes. In the fyrste
 shall be comprehended the beste fourme of
 education or bringing vp of noble children/
 fro their natiuitie : in suche maner as they
 may be founde worthy / and also able to be
 gouernours of a publike weale. The secōde
 volume/whiche god grantyng me quietnes
 and libertie of mynde/I wyll shortly after
 sende forth/It shall containe all the remi-
 nant / whiche I can either by lernyng or ex-
 periēce fynde apt to the perfection of a iuste
 publike weale : in the whiche/I shall so en-
 deuour my selfe/that al men of what astate
 or cōdition so euer they be / shall finde ther
 in occasiō to be alway vertuously occupied :
 and nat without pleasure / if they be nat of
 the scholes of Aristippus / or Apicius : of
 whom the one supposed felicity to be onely
 in lechery/the other in delicate fedynge and
 glotony : From whose sharpe talones and
 cruell tethe / I beseeche all gentill reders to
 defende these warkes/whiche for theyr cō-
 modite is onely compiled.

Due ad-
ministration.Occupas-
tion.

talones

B.v.

That

The Governour.

That in a publike weale ought to be inferior governours called Magistrates: whiche shall be appoynted or chosen by the soueraigne governour. Cap. iij.



There be bothe reasones and examples yndoubtedly infinite: wherby may be proued / that there can be no perfect publike weale / without one capital and soueraigne governour / whiche may longe endure or continue.

exploite

Cap. vi.

But sens one mortall man can nat haue knowlege of all thynges done in a realme or large dominion / and at one tyme discusse all cōtrouerfies / resourme all trāsgressions / and exploite al consultations / concluded / as well for outwarde / as inwarde affaires: it is expedient and also nedefull / that vnder the capitall governour be sondry meane authorities / as it were aydyng hym in the distribution of iustice in sondry partes of a huge multitude: wherby his labours beinge leuigate / and made more tollerable / he shall gouerne with the better aduise / and consequently with a more perfect governance. And as Iesus Sirach sayth: The multitude

tude of wise me is the welth of the worlde.

They whiche haue suche authorities to them comitted may be called inferiour gouernours / hauynge respecte to theyr office or duetie / wherin is also a representation of gouernance : All be it they be named in latine *Magistratus*. And herafter I intende to call them *Magistratus* / lackynge an other more couenient worde in englyss be / but that will I do in the secōde parte of this worke / where I purpose to write of theyr sondry offices / or effectes of theyr authoritie.

But for as moche as in this parte / I intende to write of theyr education & vertue in maners / whiche they haue in commune with princes / in as moche as therby they shall as well by example / as by authoritie ordre well them / whiche by theyr capitall gouernour / shall be to theyr rule comitted / I may without anoyance of any man name them gouernours at this tyme / appropriatinge to the soueraignes names of kynges and princes / sens of a longe custome / these names in comune fourme of speakyng be in a higher preeminence and estimation than gouernours. That in every comune weale ought to be a great nombre of suche maner of persons it is partly pved in the chaptre
nexte

The Governour.

Politic.
li. iiii.

nexste before writen / where I haue spoken
of the comodite of ordze. Also reason and
comune experience playnly declareth / that
where the dominion is large & populouse/
there is hit conuenient / that a prince haue
many inferiour gouernours: whiche be na-
med of Aristotel his eien / eares / bandes /
and legges : whiche if they be of the beste
sorte (as he further more saythe) it semeth
impossible / a countrey nat to be well gouer-
ned by good lawes. And excepte excellent
vertue and lernynge do inhabile a man of
the base astate of the communalitie / to be
thought of all men worthy to be so moche
auaunced / els suche gouernours wolde be
chosen out of that astate of men / whiche
be called worshipfull / if amonge them may
be founden a sufficient nombre / or nate with
vertue and wisdom / mete for suche pur-
pose: and that for sondry causes.

Fyrste it is of good congruence / that they
whiche be superiour in condition or haui-
our / shulde haue also preminence in ad-
ministration / if they be nat inferiour to o-
ther in vertue. Also they hauinge of their
owne reuenues certeine / wherby they haue
competent substaunce to lyue without takyng
rewards: it is lykely that they wyll nat
be

be so desirous of lucre (wherof may be engendred corruption) as they / whiche haue very litle or norhyng so certeyne.

More ouer where vertue is in a gentyll man / it is comenly mixte with more sufferance / more affabilitie / and myldenes / than for the more parte it is in a persone rural or of a very base linage / and whan it hapneth other wise / it is to be accompted lothesome and monstruous. Furthermore where the persone is worshypfull / his gouernaunce / though it be sharpe / is to the people more tollerable / & they therewith the lasse grutch or be dissobedient. Also suche men hauyng substance in goodes by certeyne and stable possessions / whiche they may aporcionate to their owne liuyng and bryngyng vp of theyr children in lernyng and vertues / may (if nature repugne nat) cause them to be so instructed and furnisshed towarde the administratiō of a publike weale / that a poure mannes sonne / onely by his naturall witte / without other adminiculatiō or aide / neuer or seldome may atteyne to the semblable. Towarde the whiche instruction / I haue with no litle study and labours prepared this warke / as almighty god be my iuge / without arrogance or any sparke of vayne glorie :

The Governour

glorie : but only to declare the seruent zeale that I haue to my conntrey / and that I desyre only to employ that poure lerning that I haue gotten / to the benefite therof / and to the recreation of all the reders / that be of any noble or gentill courage / gyuyng them occasion to eschewe idelnes / beyng occupied in redyng this warke / infarced througly with suche histories and sentēces / wherby they shal take / they them selves cōfessing no lytell cōmodite / if they will more than ones or twyse rede it. The first reding being to them newe / the seconde delicious / and every tyme after / more and more frutefull and excellent profitable.

The education or fourme of bringing vp of the childe of a gentilman / which is to haue authoritie in a publike weale. Cap. iiii.



Or as moche as all noble authors do conclude / and also cōmune experience proueth / that where the gouernours of realmes and cities be founden adourned with vertues / & do employ theyr study and mynde to the publike weale / as well to the augmentation therof / as to the establi

establysshynge and longe continuance of
 the same: there a publike weale must nedes
 be both honorable and welthy. To the en-
 tent that I wyll declare howe suche perso-
 nages may be prepared / I will vse the po-
 licie of a wyse and counnyng gardener /
 who purposynge to haue in his gardeine a
 4 fyne and precious herbe / that shulde be to
 hym and all other repairynge therto excel-
 lently comodious / or pleasant: he will first
 serche throughtout his gardeyne / where he
 can finde the most melowe and fertile erth /
 and therein wil he put the sede of the herbe
 to growe / and be nourished: and in most di-
 ligent wise attēde / that no weede be suffred
 to growe or aproche nyghe vnto it: and to
 the entent it may thriue the faster / as soone
 as the fourme of an herbe ones appereth /
 he will set a vessell of water by hit / in suche
 wyse / that it may continually distille on the
 rote swete droppes: and as it spryngeth in
 stalke / vnder sette it with some thyng / that
 it breake nat: and alway kepe it cleane from
 weedes. Semblable ordre will I ensue / in
 the fourmyng the gentill wittes of noble
 mennes children / who from the wombes of
 their mother / shalbe made propise or apte
 to the gouernaunce of a publike weale.

Educetio
 of noble
 wittes.

propise

First

The Gouernour

Norices
how they
oughte to
be chosen.

A gouer-
nelle or
dyeno-
rice.

Fyrste they / vnto whom the bringing vp
of suche children apperteineth / oughte a-
gaine the time that their mother shall be
of them deliuered / to be sure of a nourise/
whiche shulde be of no seruile condition/
or vice notable. For as some auncient wri-
ters do suppose / often times the childe sou-
kethe the vice of his nouryse / with the
milke of her pappe. And also obserue that
she be of mature or ripe age / nat vnder .xx.
yeres or aboue .xxx. her body also beinge
clene from all sikenes / or deformite / and ha-
uing her complection most of the right and
pure sanguine. For as moche as the milke
therof cominge excelleth all other / bothe in
swetenes and substance. More ouer to the
nourise shulde be appointed an other wo-
man of approued vertue / discretion / and
grauitie / who shall nat suffre in the chilles
presence to be shewed any acte or tache di-
shonest / or any wanton or vnclene worde to
be spoken ; and for that cause al men / except
pbilitions only / shulde be excluded & kepte
out of the nourisery. Perchance some wyll
scorne me / for that I am so serious / sainge
that ther is no suche damage to be fered in
an infāt / who for tendernes of yeres hath nat
the vnderstandig to decerne good frō iuell.
And

And yet no man wyll denie / but in that in-
 nocency he wyll decerne milke from butter/
 and breadde from pappe / and er he can
 speake / he wyll with his hande or counte-
 naunce signifie / whiche he desireth. And I
 verily do suppose / that in the braynes and
 bertes of children / whiche be membres spi-
 rituall / whiles they be tender / and the litle
 slippes of reason begynne in them to bur-
 gine / ther may happe by iuel custome some
 pestiferous dewe of vice to perse the sayde
 membres / and infecte and corrupt the softe
 and tender buddes / wherby the frute may
 growe wylde / and some tyme containe in it
 feruent and mortal poyson / to the ytter de-
 struction of a realme

And we haue in daily experience / that litle
 infantes assayeth to folowe / nat oncly the
 wordes / but also the faictes and gesture of
 them / that be prouecte in yeres. For we
 daylye here to our great heuines / children
 swere great othes / and speake lasciuious
 and vncleane wordes by the example of o-
 ther / whom they heare / wherat the leude
 parentes do reioyce / sone after / or in this
 worlde / or els where / to theyr great payne
 and tourment. Contrary wise we beholde
 some chyldren / knelynge in theyr game
 before

Infancie.

The Governour.

before images/and holdyng vp their lytell
whyte handes / do moue they: praty mou-
thes / as they were prayeng: other goynge
and syngynge / as hit were in procession.
wherby they do expresse they: disposition
to the imitation of those thynges / be they
good or iuell / whiche they vsually do se or
here. wherfore nat only princis/ but also all
other children/ from their noyses pappes/
are to be kepte diligently from the herynge
or seynge of any vice or euyl tache. And in-
continent as sone as they can speake / it be-
houeth with most pleasaunt allurynges to
instill in them swete maners and vertuose
custome. Also to prouide for them suche
companions and playfelowes/ whiche shal
nat do in his presece any reprocheable acte/
or speake any vncleane worde or othe/ ne to
aduaunt hym with flattery / remembrynge
his nobilitie/ or any other like thyng/ wher
in he mought glozy: onlas it be to persuade
hym to vertue: or to withdrawe him from
vice: in the remembryng to hym the daun-
ger of his iuell example. For noble men
more greuously offende by they: example
than by their dede. yet often remembrance
to them of their astate/ may happen to ra-
dycate in they: hartes intollerable pride/
the

the moost daungerous poyson to noblenes.
wherfore there is required to be there in
moche cautele and sobrenesse.

The ordre of lernynge that a noble man
shulde be trayned in before he come
to thaige of seuen yeres. Cap.v.



Some olde autours holde op-
pinion / that before the age of
seuen yeres / a chylde shulde
nat be instructed in letters / but
those writers were either gre-
kes or latines : amonge whom all doctrine
& sciences were in their maternall tonges/
by reason wherof they saued all that longe
tyme / whiche at this dayes is spente in vn-
derstandyng perfectly the greke or latyne.
wherfore it requireth nowe a longer tyme
to the vnderstandyng of bothe. Therefore
that infelicitie / of our tyme and countray
compelleth vs to encroche some what vpo
the yeres of children / and specially of noble
men / that they may sooner attayne to wise-
dome and grauitie / than priuate persones :
consideryng as I haue saide / their charge &
example / whiche aboue all thynges is most
to be esteemed. Nat withstanding I wolde
L.ij. nat

The Governour.

nat haue them inforced by violēce to lerne/
but accordynge to the counsaile of Quinti-
lian/to be swetely allured therto/with prai-
ses and suche praty gyftes as children de-
lite in. And their fyrst letters to be paynted
or lynned in a pleasaunt maner: where in
children of gentyl courage haue moche de-
lectation. And also there is no better allec-
tyue to noble wyttes / than to induce them
into a contention with their inferiour com-
panions: they somtyme purposely suffring
the more noble childre to vainquysshbe/and
as it were gyuyng to them place and soue-
raintie/thoughbe in dede the inferiour chyl-
dren haue more lernyng. But there can be
nothyng more conuenient/than by litle and
litle to trayne and exercise them in spekyng
of latyne: insourmyng them to knowe first
the names in latine of all thynges that co-
meth in syghte / and to name all the partes
of theyr bodies: and gyuyng them some
what that they couete or desyre/in most ge-
tyl maner to teache them to aske it agayne
in latine: And if by this meanes they may
be induced to vnderstande and speke latine:
it shall afterwarde be lasse grese to them in
a maner/to lerne any thing/where they vn-
derstande the langage / wherin it is writen.

And

lynned

And as touchynge grammere / there is at
 this day better introductions / and more fa-
 cile / thā euer before were made / concernyng
 as wel greke as latine / if they be wisely cho-
 sen. And hit shal be no reproche to a noble
 man / to instruct his owne children / or at the
 leest wayes to examine them by the way of
 daliaunce or solace / considerynge that the
 emperour Octavius Augustus / disdayned
 nat to rede the warkes of Licero / and Vir-
 gile / to his childrē and newewes. And why
 shulde nat noble men rather so do / thā tea-
 che their children howe at dyse and cardes
 they may counnyngly lese & consume theyr
 owne treasure and substaunce: Moreouer
 teachynge representeth the auctoritie of a
 prince: wherfore Dionyse kynge of Sicile /
 whan he was for tyranny expelled by his
 people / he came in to Italy / and there / in a
 commune schole taught grammer / where
 with whan he was of his enemies embrai-
 ded & called a schole maister / he answered
 them: that al though Sicilians had exiled
 hym / yet in despite of them all he reigned /
 notynge therby the authorite that he had
 ouer his scholers. Also whan hit was of
 hym demanded / what auailed hym Plato
 or philosophy / wherin he had be studious:

Instru-
 ction in
 infancie.

Dionisse
 the tyrā.

L. iij.

he

The Governour.

he answered/that they caused hym to stayne aduersitie patiently: and made his exile to be to hym more facile & easy: whiche courage and wysedome consydered of his people/they eftsones restored him vnto his realme & astate roiall/where if he had procured agayne them hostilite/or warres/or had returned in to Sicile with any violence/ I suppose the people wolde haue alway resysted hym/ and haue kepte hym in perpetuall exile: as the romaynes dyd the proude kynge Tarquine / whose sonne rauished Lucrece. But to retourne to my purpose: hit shall be expedient / that a noble mannes sonne in his infancie haue with hym continually/onely suche/as may accustom hym by litle and litle to speake pure and elegant latin. Semblably the nourishes & other women aboute hym / if it be possible/to do the same: or at the leste way/that they speake none englishe but that/whiche is cleane/polite/perfectly/ and articulately pronounced/omittinge no lettre or sillable/as soliff be women often times do of a wantonnesse/wherby diuers noble men/and gentilmennes chyl dren (as I do at this daye knowe) haue attained corrupte and foule pronuntiation. This industry ysed in four-
minge

minge litel infantes/ who shall doubt/ but
that they (nat lackyng naturall witte) shall
be apt to receyue lerninge/ whan they come
to mo yeres? And in this wise maye they
be instructed without any violence or infor-
sing: vsing the more parte of the time vntil
they come to the age of. vij. yeres/ in suche
disportis as do appertaine to childre/ wher
in is no resemblance or similitude of vice.

At what age a tutour shulde be pro-
uided and what shall appertaine
to his office to do. Cap. vij.



After that a childe is come to
seuen yeres of age/ I holde it
expedient that he be taken fro
the company of women: sa-
uyng that he may haue one
yere or two at the most/ an auncient and sad
matrone attendyng on hym in his chabre/
whiche shall nat haue any yonge woman
in her company: For though there be no
perille of offence in that tender and innocēt
age/ yet in some childre nature is more pue
to vice than to vertue / & in the tender wittes
be sparkes of voluptuositie: whiche nori-
shed by any occasiō or obiecte/ encrease oftē

Liii.

tymes

The Governour.

tymes in to so terrible a fire/that ther with
all vertue and reason is consumed. where-
fore to eschewe that daunger/the most sure
counsaile is/to withdrawe him from all com-
pany of women/ and to assigne vnto hym a
tutor/whiche shulde be an auncient & wor-
shipfull mā/in whom is aproued to be mo-
che gentilles / mixte with grauitie / and as
nighe as can be suche one / as the childe by
imitation folowyng / may growe to be ex-
cellent. And if he be also lerned / he is the
more comendable. Peleus the father of
Achilles comitted the gouernaunce of his
sonne to Phenix / whiche was a straunger
borne : who as well in speakyng elegantly
as in doinge valiauntly was maister to A-
chilles (as Homere saith). Howe moche
profited hit to kynge Philip / father to the
great Alexander / that he was deliuered in
hostage to the Thebanes : where he was
kepte and brought vp vnder the gouernace
of Epaninondas/a noble and valiant capi-
taine/of whom he receiued suche lernynges
as well in actes martiall/as in other liberal
sciences / that he excelled all other kynges
that were before his tyme in Grece : and fi-
nally as well by wisdom as prowes / sub-
dued all that countray.

Phenix
Achilles
tutor.

Merader
the great.

Epaninō
das tutor
to kynge
Philip.

Sem.

☞ Semblably he ordayned for his sonne Alexander a noble tutor / called Leonidas / vnto whom for his wisdomie / humanitie / and lernyng / he comitted the rule and preeminence ouer all the maisters and seruantes of Alexander. In whom nat withstanding was suche a familier vice / whiche Alexander apprehending in childhode coulde neuer abandon / some suppose it to be fury and hastines / other superfluous drinking of wyne / whiche of them it were / it is a good warning for gentilmen to be the more serious / inserching nat only for the vertues / but also for the vices of them / vnto whose tuition & gouernace they will comitte their children.

Leonidas
tutor to
kyng Alexander.

Pa. 10
abandon

☞ The office of a tutor / is firste to knowe the nature of his pupil / that is to say / wher to he is mooste inclined or disposed / and in what thyng he setteth his most delectation or appetite. If he be of nature curtaise / piteouse / and of a free and liberall harte / it is a principall token of grace (as hit is by all scripture determined). Than shall a wyse tutor / purposely comende those vertues / extolling also his pupill / for hauyng of them : and there with he shall declare them to be of all men mooste fortunate / whiche shall happen to haue suche a maister. And more

Office of
a tutor.

The Governour.

ouer shall declare to hym / what honour /
what loue / what comodite shall happen to
him by these vertues. And if any haue ben
of disposition contrary / than to expresse the
enormities of theyr vice / with as moche de-
testatiō as may be. And if any dainger haue
therby ensued / misfortune / or punishemēt /
to agreue it in sucbe wyse / with so vehemēt
wordes / as the childe may abhorre it / and
feare the semblable aduventure.

In what wise musike may be to a noble
man necessarie : and what modestie
ought to be therein. Cap.vij.



He discretion of a tutor / con-
sisteth in temperance : that is
to saye / that he suffre nat the
childe to be fatigate with con-
tinuall studie or lernyng : wher
with the delicate and tender witte may be
dulled or oppressed : but that there may be
there with entrelased and mixte / some plea-
saunt lernynge / and exercise / as playenge on
instrument] of musike / whiche moderately
vsed / and without diminution of honour /
that is to say / without wanton countenance
and dissolute gesture / is nat to be contēned.

For the noble kynge and prophete David/
kyng of Israell (whom almighty god said
that he had chosen as a man accordinge to
his harte or desire) duringe his lyfe/delited
in musike: And with the swete harmony
that he made on his harpe/he constrayned
the iuell spirite/that vexed kynge Saul / to
forsake him / continuynge the tyme that he
harped.

The mooste noble and valiant
princis of Grece often tymes / to recreate
their spirites/and in augmenting their cou-
rage/enbraced instrumentes musicall.

So dyd the valiaunt Achilles (as Homere
saith) who after the sharpe and vebement
contention betwene him and Agamemnon/
for the takyng away of his cōcubine: wher-
by he being set in a fury hadde slayne Aga-
memnon emperour of the grekes armye /
had nat Pallas the goddesse withdrawen
his hande: In whiche rage he all inflamed
departed with his people to his owne ship-
pes/that lay at rode/intendinge to haue re-
toured in to his countray / but after that
he had taken to hym his harpe (whereon
he had lerned to playe of Chiron the Cen-
taure / whiche also had taught hym seates
of armes/with phisicke and surgery). And
playeng thereon had songen the gestis and
actes

Achilles.
Homerus
Iliados
primo.

Chiron

The Governour.

ouer shall declare to hym / what honour /
what loue / what comodite shall happen to
him by these vertues. And if any haue ben
of disposition contrary / than to expresse the
enormities of theyr vice / with as moche de-
testatio as may be. And if any daunger haue
therby ensued / misfortune / or punishemēt /
to agreue it in suche wyse / with so vehemēt
wordes / as the childe may abhorre it / and
feare the semblable aduenture.

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childe to be fatigate with con-
tinuall studie or lernyng : wher
with the delicate and tender witte may be
dulled or oppressed : but that there may be
there with entrelased and mixte / some plea-
saunt lernynge / and exercise / as playenge on
instrumentj of musike / whiche moderately
vsed / and without diminution of honour /
that is to say / without wanton countenance
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departed with his people to his owne ship-
pes/that lay at rode/intendinge to haue re-
toured in to his countray / but after that
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of armes/with phisicke and surgery). And
playeng thereon had songen the gestis and
actes

Achilles.
Homerus
Iliados
primo.

Chiron

The Governour.

actis martial of the auncient princis of Grece/
as Hercules/Percus/Perithous/Theseus
and his cosin Jason: and of diuers other of
semblable value & prowesse: he was there
with asswaged of his furie / and reduced in
to his firste astate of reason: in suche wyse
that in redoubyng his rage/and that there
by shulde nat remayne to him any note of
reproche / he retaynyng his fiers & stourdie
countenance so tempered hym selfe / in the
entertaynement and answeyng the messa-
gers / that came to him from the residue of
the Grekes/that they reputing all that his
fiers demeanure to be (as it were) a diuine
maiestie / neuer embrayded hym with any
inordinate wraethe or furie.

Alexander
deth murther
spoke.

And therfore the great kynge Alexander/
whan he had vainquissed Ilion / where
some tyme was set the moste noble citie of
Troy/beinge demaunded of one/if he wold
se the harpe of Paris Alexander / who ra-
uissed Helene/be therat gentilly smyllyng/
answered: that it was nat the thyng that
he moche desired/but that he had rather se
the harpe of Achilles/wherto he fange/nat
the illecebrous dilectations of Venus / but
the valiaunt actes and noble affaires of ex-
cellent princis. But in this comendation
of

of musike / I wold nat be thought to allure
 noble men to haue so moche delectatiō ther
 in / that in playinge and singynge only / they
 shulde put their holle studie and felicitie :
 As dyd the emperour Nero / whiche all a
 longe somers day wolde sit in the Theatre /
 (an opē place where al the people of Rome
 behelde solemne actis and playes) and in
 the presence of all the noble men and sena-
 tours / wolde playe on his harpe and syng
 without cessynge : And if any man hapned
 by longe sittynge to slepe / or by any other
 cōutenance to shewe him selfe to be weary /
 he was sodaynly bobbed on the face by the
 seruantes of Nero / for that purpose atten-
 dyng : Or if any persone were perceiued
 to be absent / or were sene to laughe at the
 folye of the emperour / he was forthwith
 accused as it were of missprison. wherby
 the emperour founde occasion to committe
 him to prison / or to put hym to tortures.
 O what misery was it to be subiecte to su-
 che a minstrell / in whose musike was no me-
 lodye but anguisshe and dolour ?

It were therfore better that no musike
 were taughte to a noble man / than by the
 exacte knowlege therof he shuld haue ther
 in inordinate delite : & by that be illected to
 wan.

Theatre.

missprison

musike
miserable

The Governour

Kynge
Philipps
wordes
to Alex-
ander.

Musike p
fitable.

wantonnesse/abandonyng grauitie and the
necessary cure & office in the publike weale
to him comitted. Kynge Philip / whan he
harde that his sonne Alexander dyd singe
swetely & pperly / he rebuked him gentilly /
saynge : But Alexander be ye nat as hamed /
that ye can singe so well and connyngly &
wherby he mente that the open profession
of that crafte was but of a base estimation.
And that it suffised a noble man / hauynge
therein knowlege / either to vse it secretely /
for the refresshyng of his witte / whan he
hath tyme of solace : or els only hearynge
the contention of noble musiciens / to gyue
iugement in the excellencie of their coun-
nynges. These be the causes / where vnto
hauinge regarde / musike is nat onely tolle-
rable / but also comédable. For as Aristotle
saith : Musike in the olde tyme was nobred
amonge sciences / for as moche as nature
seketh nat onely howe to be in busines well
occupied / but also howe in quietnes to be
comendably disposed. And if the childe
be of a perfecte inclination and towardnes
to vertue / and very aptly disposed to this
science / and ripely dothe vnderstande the
reason and concordance of tunes / the tutors
office shall be to perswade hym / to haue
prin.

principally in remembrance his astate/whiche
maketh hym exempt from the libertie of vs-
sing this science in euery tyme and place:
that is to say / that it onely serueth for re-
creatiō/after tedious or laborious affaires.
And to shewe him that a gentilmā plaine
or singing in a cōmune audience / appaireth
his estimation. The people forgettinge re-
uerence/whan they beholde him in the si-
militude of a cōmon seruant or minstrell.
yet natwithstanding/he shall cōmende the
perfecte vnderstandinge of musike / decla-
ringe howe necessary it is for the better at-
taynyng the knowlege of a publike weale.
whiche as I before haue saide / is made of
an ordre of astates and degrees/ & by reaso-
therof conteineth in it a perfect harmony:
whiche he shall afterwarde more perfectly
vnderstande/whan he shall happen to rede
the booke of Plato & Aristotle of publike
weales: wherin be written diuers exāples
of musike and geometrye. In this fourme
may a wise and circumspecte tutor / adapte
the pleasant science of musike to a necessary
and laudable purpose.

That it is cōmendable in a gentilman to
paint and kerue exactly/ if nature ther
to doth induce hym. Cap. viij.

The Governour



If the childe be of nature inclined (as many haue ben) to paint with a penne / or to fourme images in stone or tree : he shulde nat be therfrom withdrawen / or nature be rebuked / whiche is to hym beniuolent : but puttyng one to hym / whiche is in that crafte / wherin he deliteth / moste excellent / in vacant tymes from other more serious lernynge / he shulde be in the moste pure wise instructed in painting or keruige.

And now perchance some enuious reder wyll hercof apprehende occasion to scorne me / sayenge / that I haue well hyed me / to make of a noble man a mason or peynter. And yet if either ambition or voluptuose idelnes wolde haue suffered that reder to haue sene histories / he shuld haue founden excellent princis / as well in payntyng as in keruynge / equall to noble artificers : suche were Claudius Titus / the sonne of Vaspasian / Hadriane / both Antonines / and diuers other emperours and noble princes : whose warkes of longe tyme remayned in Rome and other cities / in suche places / where all men mought beholde them : as monumētys of their excellēt wittes and vertuous occupation / in eschewynge of idelnes.

And

And nat without a necessary cause / princis were in their childhode so instructed : for it serued them afterwarde for deuysynge of engynes for the warre: or for making them better that be all redy deuysed. For as Vitruuius (whiche writeth of buyldynge to the emperour Augustus) sayth: All turmentes of warre / whiche we cal ordinance / were first inuēted by kinges or gouernours of hostes: or if they were deuised by other / they were by them made moche better.

Also by the feate of portraiture or payntyng / a capitaine may discriue the countray of his aduersary / wherby he shall eschue the daungerous passages with his hoste or nauie: also perceyue the placis of aduantage / the forme of embataylynge of his enemies: the situation of his campe / for his mooste suertie / the strength or weakenes of the towne or fortresse / whiche he intendeth to assaulte. And that / whiche is moost specially to be considered / in visiting his owne dominions / he shal sette them out in figure in suche wise / that at his eie shal appere to hym / where he shall employ his study and treasure / as well for the saulsgarde of his countray / as for the comodite and honour therof / hauyng at al tymes in his sight the

D

suertie

The Governour.

fuertie and feblenes / aduauncement & hyndrance of the same. And what pleasure and also vtilite is it to a man / whiche intendeth to edifie / hym selfe to expresse the figure of the warke that he purposeth / accordyng as he hath conceyued it in his owne fantasie? wherin by often amendyng and correctyng / he finally shall so perfecte the warke vnto his purpose / that there shall neither ensue any repentance / nor in the employment of his money he shall be by other disceiued.

More ouer the seate of portraiture shall be an allectiue to euery other studie or exercise. For the witte therto disposed / shall alway couaite cōgruent mater / wherin it may be occupied. And whan he happeneth to rede or here any fable or historie / forthwith he apprehendeth it more desirously / and retaineth it better thā any other / that lacketh the sayd seate : by reaso that he hath soude mater apte to his fantasie. Finally euery thinge that portraiture may comprehend will be to him delectable to rede or here.

And where the liuely spirite
the grace of And where the liuely spirite / and that whiche is called the grace of the thyng / is perfectly expresse / that thinge more psuadeth and stereth the beholder / & soner instructeth hym / than the declaration in writyng or spea

speakyng both the rede[r] or heare[r].

Experience we haue therof in lernynge of geometry/astronomie/ & cosmographie/cal- led in englissh be the discriptiō of the worlde. In which studies I dare affirme/a mā shal more p[ro]fite in one wike by figures & chartis/ well and perfectly made / than he shal by the only reding or he[ar]yng the rules of that sciēce/by the space of halfe a yere at the lest. wherfore the late writers deserue no small cōmendation / whiche added to the autors of those sciences apt and p[ro]p[er] figures.

And he that is perfectly instructed in por- trayture / and hapneth to rede any noble & excellent historie/wherby his courage is in- flamed to the imitation of vertue / he forth with taketh his penne or pensill / and with a graue and substanciall studie/gatherynge to him all the partes of imagination/ende- uoureth him selfe to expresse liuely/and (as I mought say) actually in portrayture/nat- only the faict or affaire/but also the sondry affections of euery personage in the historie recited/whiche mought in any wise appiere or be perceiued in their visage / cōutenance/ or gesture : with like diligence/as Lysippus made in metall kynge Alexander/fightynge and struggling with a terrible lyon of incō-

Lysippus.

D.ij.

para.

The Governour.

parable magnitude and fiercenesse: whom/
after longe and difficulte bataile/with won-
derfull strength and clene might / at the last
he ouertbrowe and vainquished. wherein
he so expressed the similitude of Alexander/
and of his lordes standing about him/that
they all seemed to lyue. Amonge whom the
prowes of Alexander appiered excellling all
other / the residue of his lordes after the
value and estimatiō of their courage/every
man set out in suche forwardnes / as they
than seemed more prompt to the helping of
their maister/that is to say/one lasse a ferde
than an other. Phidias the Atheniense/
whom all writers do commendē / made of
yuory the simulachre or image of Jupiter/
honoured by the gentiles/on the high hille
of Olympus: whiche was done so excel-
lently/that Pandenus/a cunnyng painter/
therat admaruailinge/required the craftis-
ma to shewe him where he had the exāple/
or paterne of so noble a warke. Than Phi-
dias answered / that he had taken it out of
thre veries of Homere the poet: the sen-
tence wherof ensueth as well as my poure
witte can expresse it in englissh be.

Than Jupiter / the father of them all
Therto assented with his browes blake

Shas

Shaking his here & therewith did let fall
 A countenance that made al heuē to quake.
 where it is to be noted / that Homere im-
 mediately before had reberfed the cōsultatiō
 had amōge the goddis / for the appailling of
 the two noble princis / Achilles & Agamēnō.
 ¶ Nowe (as I haue before sayde) I in-
 tende nat by these examples to make of a
 prince or noble mānes sonne a cōmune pain-
 ter or keruer / whiche shall present him selfe
 openly / stained or embrued with sondry co-
 lours / or poudered with the duste of stones
 that he cutteth / or perfumed with tedious
 saours of the metalles by him yoten.

But verily myne intent & meaninge is only /
 that a noble childe / by his owne naturall
 disposition / and nat by coercion / may be in-
 duced to receiue perfect instruction in these
 sciences. But all though / for purposis be-
 fore expressed / they shall be necessary : yet
 shall they nat be by him exercised / but as a
 secrete pastime / or recreation of the wittes
 late occupied in serious studies / like as dyd
 the noble princis before named. Al though
 they ones beinge attayned be neuer moche
 exercised / after that the tyme cometh con-
 cerning businesse of greater importaunce :
 The thelesse the exquisite knowlege and vn-

The Continuance

derstanding that he hath in those sciences/
hath impressed in his cares and eyes an ex-
acte and perfecte iugement/as well in descri-
nyng the excellencie of them/whiche either
in musike/or in statuary/or paynters crafter/
professeth any cunnyng/as also adaptinge
their saide knowlege to the adminiculation
of other serious studies and businesse/as I
haue before reberfed: whiche I doubt nat
shall be well approued by them that either
haue redde and vnderstande olde autors/
or aduisedly wyll examine my cōsideratiōs.

¶ The swete writer Lactantius / saythe
in his firste boke to the emperour Constan-
tine agayne the gentiles: Of conninge cō-
meth vertue / and of vertue perfect felicitie
is onely ingendred. And for that cause the
gentiles supposed those princis / whiche in
vertue and honour surmounted other men/
to be goddes. And the Romanes in lyke
wise dyd cōsecrate their emperours/which
excelled in vertuous example/in preseruyng
or augmentinge the publike weale/and am-
pliatinge of the empire/calling them Diui/
whiche worde representeth a signification
of diuinitie / they thinkyng that it was ex-
cedyng mannes nature / to be bothe in for-
tune and goodnes of suche perfection.

what

Lactantius
lib. 1. c. 1.

what exacte diligence shulde be in
choosinge maisters. Cap. ix.



After that the childe hath be
pleasantly trained & induced
to knowe the ptes of speche /
and can seperate one of them
from an other / in his owne
langage / It shall than be time that his tu-
tor or governour / do make diligent serche
for suche a maister : as is excellently lerned
both in greke and latine / and therewithall is
of sobre and vertuous disposition / specially
chast of liuyng / and of moche affabilite and
patience : lest by any vncleane example the
tender mynde of the childe may be infected /
harde afterwarde to be recouered. For the
natures of children be nat so moche or sone
aduaunced by thinges well done or spoken /
as they be bindred and corrupted by that /
whiche in actis or wordes is wantonly ex-
pressed. Also by a cruell and irous maister
the wittes of children be dulled : and that
thinge / for the whiche children be often ty-
mes beatē / is to them euer after fastidious :
wherof we nede no better autor for witnes /
than daily experience. wherfore the moste
necessary thiges to be obserued by a matter

The Gouernour.

in his disciples or scholars (as Licon the noble gramarien saide) is shāfastnes & praise.

By shāfastnes/as it were with a bridell/ they rule as well theyr dedes / as their appetites. And desire of prayse addeth to a sharpe spurre to their disposition toward lernyng and vertue. Accordyng there vnto Quintilian instructyng an oratour/desireth suche a childe to be giuen vnto hym/whom cōmendation feruently sterceth/glozie prouoketh / and beinge vainquissed wepeth.

That childe (saith he) is to be fedde with ambition/hym a litle chiding sore biteth/in hym no parte of sloutbe is to be feared.

And if nature disposeth nat the childes witte to receiue lernynge / but rather other wise/it is to be applied with more diligence & also policie/as chesing some boke/wherof the argument or matter approcheth mooste nigh to the childes inclination or fantasie/ so that it be nat extremely vicious / & therewith by litle and litle/as it were with a pleasant sauce/prouoke him to haue good appetite to studie. And surely that childe/what so euer he be / is well blessed and fortunate/ that findeth a good instructour or maister. whiche was cōsidered by noble kynge Philip/father to the great king Alexander/who
immedi

imediately after that his sonne was borne/
wrote a letter to Aristotle/the prince of phi-
losophers/the tenour wherof ensueth.

Aristotle we grete you well. Lettinge you
weete that we haue a sonne borne / for the
whiche we gyue due thanks vnto god / nat
for that he is borne onely / but also for as
moche as hit happeneth hym to be borne/
you lyuinge. Trusting that it shall happē /
that he by you taught & instructed / shall be
herafter worthy to be named our sonne / &
to enioy the honour and substance that we
nowe haue prouided. Thus fare ye well.
The same Alexander was wōt to say opely/
that he ought to gyue as great thanks to
Aristotle his mayster / as to kynge Philip
his father / for of hym he toke the occasion
to lyue / of the other he receiued the reason
and waye to lyue well. And what maner a
prince Alexander was made by the doctrine
of Aristotle / hit shall appere in diuers pla-
ces of this booke : where his exāple to prin-
ces shall be declared. The incomparable
benefite of maisters / haue ben well remem-
bred of dyuers princes. In so moche as
Marcus Antoninus / whiche amonge the
emperours was commended for his vertue
and sapience / hadde his mayster Proculus

The epi-
stel of hig
Philip to
Aristotel.

D.v.

(who

The Governour.

(who taught hym gramer) so moche in fauour that he aduanced hym to be proconsul: whiche was one of the highest dignities amonge the Romanes. Alexander the emperour caused his maister Julius Fronto to be consul: whiche was the highest office and in estate nexte the emperour: and also optayned of the senate that the statue or image of Fronto was sette vp amonge the noble princes.

what caused Traiane to be so good a pnce in so moche that of late dayes / whan an emperour receyued his crowne at Rome / the people with a commune crye desired of god / that he mought be as good as was Traiane / but that he hapned to haue Plutarcke the noble philosopher to be his instructour: I agre me that some be good of natural inclination to goodnes / but where good instruction and exaple is there to added / the naturall goodnes must there with needs be amended / and be more excellent.

what ordre shulde be in lernynge / and whiche autours shulde be fyrst redde.

Lap. x.

Nowe



Owe lette vs retourne to the
 ordie of lernyng apt for a gen-
 tyll man. wherin I am of the
 opinion of Quintilian / that I
 wolde haue hym lerne greke &
 latine autors both at one time : or els to be-
 gyn with greke / for as moche as that it is
 hardest to come by: by reason of the diuer-
 site of tonges / whiche be fyue in nōbre: and
 all must be knowen / or elles vneth any poet
 can be well vnderstande. And if a childe do
 begyn therin at seuen yeres of age / he may
 continually lerne greke autours thre yeres /
 and in the meane tyme vse the latin tonge
 as a familiar lāgage: whiche in a noble mā-
 nes sonne may well come to passe / hauynge
 none other persons to serue him or kepyng
 hym company / but suche as can speake la-
 tine elegantly. And what doubt is there?
 but so may he as sone speake good latin / as
 he maye do pure frenche / whiche now is
 broughte in to as many rules and figures /
 and as longe a grāmer / as is latin or greke.
 I wyll nat contende / who amonge them /
 that do write grammers of greke (whiche
 now all most be innumerable) is the beste:
 but that I referre to the discretio of a wyse
 mayster. Alway I wolde aduysse hym / nat
 to de-

The first
 lerning in
 chyldes
 hode.

The Gouernour.

to detayne the childe to longe in that tedious labours / eyther in the greke or latyne gramer. For a gentyll wytte is there with sone fatigate.

¶ Grammer / beinge but an introduction to the vnderstanding of autors / if it be made to longe or exquisite to the lerner / bit in a maner mortifieth his corage : And by that time he cometh to the most swete & pleasat redinge of olde autors / the sparkes of feruent desire of lernynge is extincte / with the burdone of gramer / lyke as a lyttell fyre is sone quenched with a great beape of small stickes : so that it can neuer come to the principall logges / where it shuld lōge bourn in a great pleasaut fire. Nowe to folowe my purpose : after a fewe and quicke rules of gramer / immediately or interlasynge bit therwith / wolde be redde to the childe / Esopes fables in greke : in whiche argument childe moche do delite. And surely it is a moche pleasant lesson / & also profitable / as well for that it is elegāt & brefe (& nat with standing it hath moche varietie in wordes / and therwith moche helpeth to the vnderstandinge of greke) as also in those fables is included moche morall and politike wise dome. wherfore in the teachinge of them
the

Esopes
fables.

the maister diligently must gader to gyther those fables / whiche may be most accomodate to the aduancement of some vertue / wherto he perceiueth the childe inclined : or to the rebuke of some vice / wherto he findeth his nature disposed. And therein the master ought to exercise his witte / as wel to make the childe plainly to vnderstande the fable / as also declarynge the signification thereof compendiously / and to the purpose. Soze sene alwaye / that as well this lesson as all other autours / whiche the childe shall lerne / either greke or latine / verse or prose / be perfectly had without the booke : wherby he shall nat only attaine plentie of the tongues called Lokie / but also encrease and nourish be remembrance wonderfully. The nexte lesson wolde be some quicke and mery dialoges / elect out of Luciane / whiche be without ribawdry / or to moche skorning / for either of them is exactly to be eschewed / specially for a noble man / the one anoyeng the soule / the other his estimation / concernyng his grautie. The comedies of Aristophanes may be in the place of Luciane / and by reason that they be in metre / they be the sooner lerned by harte / I dare make none other comparison betwene them / for offendyng

The.ii.
lesson to
chylde.

Lucian.

Arist.

The Governours

dyng the frendes of them both: but thus moche dare I say / that it were better that a childe shuld neuer rede any parte of Luciane than all Luciane.

Vomerus

I coulde reherce diuers other poetie / whiche for mater and eloquence be very necessary / but I feare me to be to longe from noble Vomer: from whom as from a fountaine / proceeded all eloquence and lernyng. For in his booke be contained / and mooste perfectly expressed / nat only the documētes marciall and discipline of armes / but also incomparable wisdomes / and instructions for politike gouernaunce of people: with the worthy cōmendation & laude of noble princis: where with the reders shall be so all inflamed / that they most seruently shall desire and coucite / by the imitation of their vertues / to acquire semblable glorie. For the whiche occasion Aristotel moost sharpest witted / & excellent lerned Philisopher / as sone as he had receiued Alexander from kynge Philip his father: he before any o- ther thyng taught hym the mooste noble warkes of Vomer. wherin Alexander founde suche sweteness and frute / that euer after he had Vomer / nat onely with hym in all his iournayes / but also laide hym vnder

der his pillowe/whan he went to reſte: and often tymes wolde purpoſely wake ſome houres of the nyght/to take as it were his paſſe tyme with that mooſte noble poete.

For by the redinge of his warke called *Jliados*/ where the aſſembly of the moſt noble grekes agayne Troy is recited with theyr affaires/he gathered courage and ſtrength agayne his ennemies / wyſedome and eloquence for conſultations and perſuations to his people and army. And by the other warke called *Odiffea*/ whiche recoūtetb the ſondry aduentures of the wiſe *Uliſſes*: he by the example of *Uliſſes*/ apprehended many noble vertues: and alſo lerned to eſkape the fraude & deceitfull imaginatiōs of ſondry & ſubtile crafty wittes. Alſo there/ ſhall he lerne to enſerche and perceiue the maners and condiōs of them that be his familiars/ ſiftinge out (as I mought ſay) the beſt frō the warſt/ wherby he may ſurely cōmittte his affaires and truſte to euery perſone after his vertues.

Therefore I nowe conclude/ that there is no leſſon for a yonge gentil man to be compared with *Homere*/ if he be playnly and ſubſtācially expounded and declared by the mayſter.

Mat

The Governour

Virgilius

That withstandinge for as moche as the
saide warkes be very longe/and do require
therfore a great time to be all lerned and
kanned: some latine autour wolde be ther-
with myrte/and specially Virgile: whiche
in his warke called *Eneidos*/ is most lyke to
Homere/and all moste the same Homere in
latine. Also by the ioynnyng to gether of
those autours / the one shall be the better
vnderstande by the other. And verily (as
I before saide) none one autour serueth to
so diuers wittj as doth Virgile. For there
is nat that affect or desire/wherto any chil-
des fantasie is disposed/but in some of Vir-
gils warkes may be founden matter therto
apte and propise. For what thinge can be
more familiar than his bucolikes? nor no
warke so nighe approacheth to the comune
daliaunce/and maners of children/ and the
praty cōtrouersies of the simple shepeher-
des therein cōtained/wonderfully reioyceth
the childe that hereth hit well declared/as
I knowe by myne owne experience. In his
Georgikes / lorde what pleasaunt varietie
there is: the diuers graynes / herbes / and
flowres/that be there described/that redig
therin hit semeth to a man to be in a delec-
table gardeine or paradise. what ploughe
man

man knoweth so moche of husbandry / as there is expressed : who delitynge in good horfis / shall nat be therto more enflamed / reding there / of the bredyng / chesinge / and keypyng of them ? In the declaration wher of / Virgile leaueth farre behynde hym all breders / bakney men / and skosers. Is there any astronomer / that more exactly setteth out the ordre and course of the celestiall bodies : or that more truely dothe deuine in his pnostications of the tymes of the yere / in their qualities / with the future astate of all thinges prouided by husbandry / than Virgile doth recite in that warke ?

☞ If the childe haue a delite in huntyng / what pleasure shall he take of the fable of Aristeus : semblably in the huntyng of Dido and Eneas / whiche is discriued moste elegantly in his booke of Eneidos.

If he haue pleasure in wrastring / rennyng / or other lyke exercise / where shall he se any more plesant esbatementes / than that whiche was done by Euealus & other troyas / whiche accompanied Eneas ?

If he take solace in hearynge minstrelles / what minstrel may be compared to Jopas / whiche sange before Dido and Eneas ? or to blinde Demodocus / that played & sange
E mozte

c (Bareme)

The Gouvernour.

moste swetely at the dyner / that the kynge
Alcinous made to Vlisses : whose dities &
melodie excelled as farre the songes of our
minstrelles/as Homere and Virgile excelle
all other poetes.

If he be more desirous (as the most parte
of children be) to here thinges marueilous
and exquisite / whiche hath in it a visage of
some thinges incredible : wherat shall he
more wonder / than whan he shall beholde
Eneas folowe Sibille in to helle? what shall
he more drede / than the terrible visages of
Lerberous / Gorgon / Megera / and other
furies & monsters : howe shall he abhorre
tyranny/fraude/& auarice/ whan he doth se
the paynes of duke Theseus/Prometheus/
Sisiphus/ and suche other/tourmented for
their dissolute and vicious lyuyng : Howe
glad soone after shall he be/whan he shall
beholde in the pleasat felde of Elisus/the
soules of noble princes & capitaines/which
for their vertue and labours / in aduau-
cing the publike weales of their coutrayes/
do lyue eternally in pleasure inexplicable :
And in the laste booke of Eneidos/shall he
finde matter to minstre to hym audacite/
valiaunt courage / and policie / to take and
susteyne noble enterprises / if any shall be
nede.

nedefull for the assailynge of his enemies. Finally (as I haue saide) this noble Virgile/like to a good nozise/giueth to a childe/ if he wyll take it / euery thinge apte for his witte and capacitie. wherfore he is in the ordre of lernyng to be preferred before any other autor latine.

I wolde set nexte vnto hym two bokes of Ouid the one called *Metamorphosios* / whiche is as moche to saye / as chaungynge of men in to other figure or fourme: the other is intituled *De fastis*: where the ceremonies of the gentiles/and specially the Romanes/ be expressed: bothe right necessary for the vnderstandynge of other poetes. But by cause there is litell other lernyng in them/ concernyng either vertuous maners or policie/ I suppose it were better that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson/ it were declared abundantly by the maister/ than that in the saide two bokes / a longe tyme shulde be spent & almost lost: which mought be better employed on suche authors/ that do minister both eloquence/ciuile policie/and exhortation to vertue.

wherfore in his place let vs bringe in Horace/ in whom is contayned moche varietie of lernynge/and quickenesse of sentence.

L.ij.

This

The Gouverneur.

This poet may be enterlaced with the lesson of *Odyssea* of *Homere* / wherein is declared the wonderfull prudence and fortitude of *Ulysses* in his passage from *Troy*.

And if the childe were induced to make versis by the imitation of *Virgile* and *Homere* / it shulde minstre to hym moche dilectation & courage to studie : ne the makig of versis is nat discomeded in a noble man : sens the noble *Augustus* and almost all the olde emperours made bokes in versis.

Silius.
Lucanus.

The two noble poetis / *Silius* & *Lucane* / be very expedient to be lerned : for the one setteth out the emulation in qualities & p^owesse of two noble and valiant capitaynes / one enemy to the other / that is to say / *Silius* writeth of *Scipio* the romane / & *Hannibal* duke of *Cartaginensis* : *Lucane* declareth a semblable mater / but moche more lamentable : for as moche as the warres were ciuile / and as it were in the bowelles of the Romanes / that is to say / vnder the standerdes of *Julius Cesar* and *Pompei*.

Hesiodus in greke is more briefer than *Virgile* / where he writeth of husbandry : and doth nat rise so high in philosophie : but is fuller of fables : And therefore is more illecebrous.

And

And here I conclude to speke any more of poetis necessary for the childehode of a gentill man: for as moche as these I doubt nat will suffice vntill he passe the age of .xiiij. yeres. In which time childhode declineth/ and reason waxeth ripe/ and depzehendeth thinges with a more constant iugement.

Were I wolde shulde be remembred/ that I require nat that all these warkes shud be thoroughly radde of a childe in this tyme/ whiche were almost impossible: But I only desire that they haue in euery of the saide bokes so moche instruction/ that they may take therby some pfit. Than the childes courage inflamed by the frequent redyng of noble poetes/ dayly more and more desireth to haue experience in those thinges/ that they so vebemently do commende in them/ that they write of.

Poetis be
feded and
perfed.

Leonidas/ the noble kynge of Spartanes/ beinge ones demaunded/ of what estimation in poetry Tirtaeus (as he supposed) was: it is witen that he answeyng saide/ that for sterynge the myndes of yonge men he was excellēt/ for as moche as they being meued with his versis do réne in to the bataile/ regardyng no perile/ as men all inflamed in martiall courage.

E.iiij.

And

The Governour.

Poly. dotage.

And whan a man is comen to mature yeres/and that reaso in him is cōfirmed with serious lerning & longe experiēce: thā shall he in redyng tragoedies execrate & abboze the intollerable life of tyrantes: And shall contemne the foly and dotage expressed by poetes lasciuious.

Here wyll I leaue to speake of the fyrste parte of a noble mannes studie: And nowe wyll I write of the seconde parte / whiche is more serious/and containeth in it sondry maners of lernynge.

The moste cōmodious and necessary studies succedyng ordinatly the lesson of poetes. Cap.xj.



*Logike.
Topics.*

After that.xiiij.yeres be passed of a chilles age: His maister if he can / or some o-ther studiouslye exercised in the arte of an oratour/shall firste rede to hym some what of that parte of logike that is called Topica / eyther of Cicero / or els of that noble clerke of Almaine/which late floured/called Agricola: whose warke prepareth inuention/tellynge the places / from whens an argument / for the
the

the prose of any mater / may be taken with litle studie : And that lesson with moche & diligent lernyng / hauyng mixte there with none other exercise / will in the space of halfe a yere be perfectly kanned.

Immediately after that / the arte of Rhetorike wolde be semblably taught / either in greke out of Hermogines / or of Quintilian in latine / begynnyng at the thirde booke / and instructyng diligently the childe in that pte of rhetorike / principally whiche cōcerneth persuation : for as moche as it is most apte for consultations. There can be no shorter instruction of Rhetorike / than the treatise that Tulli wrate vnto his sone / which booke is named the partition of rhetorike.

Rhetorik.

And in good saythe to speake boldly that I thinke : for him that nedeth nat / or doth nat desire to be an exquisite oratour / the litle booke made by the famous Erasm^o (whom all gentill wittis are bounden to thanke / and supporte) whiche he calleth *Copiam verborum et Rerum* / that is to say / plētie of wordes and maters / shall be sufficient.

Erasmus.

Isocrates cōcerning the lesson of oratours is euery where wonderfull profitable / hauyng almost as many wylse sentences as he hath wordes : and with that is so swete &

L.iii.

dele.

The Gouernour.

selectable to rede/that after him almost all other seme vnsauery and tedious : and in persuadyng / as well a prince as a private persone to vertue / in two very litle and cōpendious warkes/wherof he made the one to kynge Nicocles / the other to his frende Demonicus/wolde be perfectly kanned and had in continuall memorie.

Demosthenes and Tulli / by the consent of all lerned men/haue preeminence and soueraintie ouer all oratours : the one reignyng in wōderfull eloquence in the publike weale of the Romanes / who had the empire and dominion of all the worlde/the other of no lasse estimation in the citie of Athens/whiche of longe tyme was accounted the mother of Sapience/and the palaice of musis and all liberall sciences. Of whiche two oratours may be attayned / nat onely eloquence excellent and perfecte / but also preceptes of wisdom and gentyll maners : with most cōmodious examples of all noble vertues and pollicie. wherfore the maister in redyng them / muste well obserue and expresse the partis and colours of rbetorike in them contayned / accordyng to the preceptes of that arte befoie lerned.

The vtilitie that a noble man shall haue
by

by redyng these oratours is / that whan he
shall happe to reason in counsaile / or shall
speake in a great audience / or to strange am-
bassadours of great princes / he shall nat be
constrayned to speake wordes sodayne / and
disordred / but shal bestowe them aptly and
in their places. wherfore the moste noble
emperour Octavius is highly cōmended /

Octavius

Also to prepare the childe to vnderstan-
dyng of histories / whiche beinge repleni-
shed with the names of countrayes and
townes vnknownen to the reder / do make
the historie tedious / or els the lasse pleasāt /
so if they be in any wyse knownen / it encrea-
seth an inexplicable delectatiō. It shall be
therfore and also for refreshing the witte / a
cōuenient lesson to beholde the olde tables
of Ptholomee / where in all the worlde is
paynted / hauynge firste some introduction
in to the sphere / wherof nowe of late be
made very good treatises / and more playne
and easie to lerne than was wonte to be.

Cosmo-
graphie
and the
cōmodi-
ties therof

All be it there is none so good lernynge / as
the demōstration of cosmographie / by ma-
teriall figures and instrumentes / hauynge

E.y.

a good

The Governour.

a good instructour. And surely this lesson is bothe pleasant and necessary. For what pleasure is it in one houre to beholde those realmes/cities / sees / ryuers / and mountaynes / that yneth in an olde mannes life can nat be iournaide and pursued : what incredible delite is take in beholding the diuersities of people/beastis/soules / ffishes/trees/frutes / and herbes : to knowe the sondry maners & conditions of people / and the varietie of their natures / and that in a warme studie or perler / without perill of the see / or daunger of longe and paynfull iournayes : I can nat tell / what more pleasure shulde happen to a gentil witte / than to beholde in his owne house euery thyng that with in all the worlde is contained. The comoditie therof knewe the great kynge Alexander / as some writars do remembre. For he caused the countrayes / wherynto he purposed any enterpryse / diligently and counningly to be discribed and paynted / that beholdynge the picture / he mought perceyue whiche places were most daingerous : & where he & his host mought haue most easy & couenable passage. Semblably dyd the Romanes in the rebellion of France / and the insurrection of theyr confederates / settinge vp a
table

table openly / wherin Italy was painted / to the intent that the people lokyng in it / shuld reason & consulte in whiche places hit were best to resiste or inuade their ennemies.

I omitte for length of the matter / to write of Lirus the great kinge of Perse / Crassus the Romane / and dyuers other valiant and experte capitaines : whiche haue lost themselves & all their army by ignorance of this doctryne. wherfore it maye nat be of any wyse man denied / but that Cosmographie is to all noble men / nat only pleasant but profitable also / and wonderfull necessary.

In the parte of cosmographie / wherwith historie is mingled / Strabo reigneth : whiche toke his argument of the diuine poete Homere. Also Strabo hym selfe (as he saith) laboured a great part of Africa and Egypte / where vndoubtedly be many thinges to be maruailed at.

Solinus writeth almost in like forme / and is more breste / & hath moche more varietie of thinges & matters / and is therfore maruailous delectable : yet Melis is moche shorter / & his stile (by reason that it is of a more antiquitie) is also more clene & facile. wherfore he or Dionisius / shall be sufficient.

Cosmographie beinge substantiallyl pceiued
it is

The Governour.

Histories
and the
fournie in
redyng of
them.

it is than tyme to induce a childe to the redyng of histories: but fyrst to set hym in a feruent courage / the mayster in the mooste pleasant and elegant wise / expresseinge what incomparable delectation / vtilitie / and commodite shal happen to emperours / kinges / princis / and all other gentil men / by redyng of histories: Shewing to hym: that Demetrius Phalareus / a man of excellēt wise dome and lerninge / and whiche in Athenes had bē lōge exercised in the publike weale / exhorted Ptholomee kyng of Egypt chiefly aboute all other studyes to haunte and embrace histories / & suche other boke / wherin were contayned preceptes made to kynges and p:inces: sayng that in them he shulde rede those thinges / whiche no mā durst reporte vnto his psone. Also Cicero / father of the latin eloquēce / calleth an historie the witnesse of tymes / maistres of life / the lyfe of remembrance / of trouthe the lyght / and messager of antiquite. Moreover the swete Isocrates exhorteth the kyng Nicocles / whom he instructeth to leaue behynde him statues and images that shal represent rather the figure & similitude of his mynde / than the features of his body / signifienge therbye the remembraunce of his actes
written

writen in histories.

By semblable aduertisementes shall a noble harte be trayned to delite in histories.

And than accordynge to the counsaile of Quintilian/ it is best that he begynne with

Titus Liuius/ nat onely for his elegancie of

Titus
Liuius.

writinge/ whiche floweth in him like a foun-

taine of swete milke: but also for as moche

as by redynge that autoz/ he maye knowe

howe the mooste noble citie of Rome of a

small & poure begynnynge/ by prowes and

vertue/ litell and litell came to empire and

dominion of all the worlde.

Also in that citie he maye beholde the

fourme of a publike weale: whiche if the

insolencie and pryde of Tarquine had nat

excluded kynges out of the citie/ it had ben

the most noble and perfect of all other.

☛ Xenophon/ beyng bothe a philoso-

Xenophō.

pher/ and an excellent capitayne/ so inuen-

ted and ordred his warke named Paedia

Lyzi: whiche may be interpreted the Chil-

debode or discipline of Lyrus/ that he lea-

ueth to the reders therof an incompara-

ble swetenes and example of lyuynge/ spe-

cially for the conductynge and well ordring

of hostes or armyes. And therfore the no-

ble Scipio/ who was called Affricanus/ as

well

The Governour.

well in peace as in warre / was neuer scene without this boke of Xenophon.

with hym maye be ioyned Quintus Curtius / who writeth the life of kyng Alexander elegantly & sweetely. In whom may be founden the figure of an excellent prince / as he that incomparably excelled al other kinges and emperours / in wysedome / hardynes / strength / policie / agilitie / valiaunt courage / nobilitie / liberalitie / and curtaisie. where in he was a spectacle or marke for all princes to loke on. Contrarye wise / whan he was ones vauquished with voluptie & pride / his tyranny and beastly crueltie abhorreth all reders. The comparison of the vertues of these two noble princes / equally described by two excellent writars / well expressed / shall prouoke a gentil courage to contende to folowe their vertues.

¶ Julius Cesar and Salust for their compendious writynge / to the vnderstandynge wherof is required an exact & perfect iudgement / and also for the exquisite ordre of battaile / and continuinge of the historie / without any varietie / wherby the payne of studie shulde be alleuiate ; they two wolde be reserued / vntyll he that shall rede them / shall see some experience in seblable matters.

And

And than shal he finde in them suche pleasure & comodite/as therewith a noble & gentyl harte ought to be satisfied. For in them both it shal seme to a mā that he is present & hereth the counsailes and exhortations of capitaines / whiche be called *Concioners*/and that he seeth the ordre of hostes/whā they be embatayled: the fiers assaults and encounterings of bothe armies: the furiose rage of that monstre called warre. And he shall wene that he hereth the terrible din-tes of sondry weapons / and ordinaunce of bataile: the conducte and policies of wise & expert capitaines / specially in the cōmentaries of Julius Cesar: whiche he made of his exploiture in Fraunce and Brytayne/ and other countraies nowe rekned amonge the prouinces of Germany. whiche booke is studiously to be radde of the princes of this realme of Englande and their counsaillours: considering that therof maye be taken necessary instructions concernynge the warres / agayne Irishmen or Scottes: who be of the same rudenes and wilde disposition/that the Swises & Britons were in the time of Cesar. Seblable vtilitie shal be founden in the historie of Titus Liuius in his thirde Decades: where he writeth of
the

fo. 25.

fo. 13.

The Gouverneur.

the batayles that the Romanes had with Annibal and the Lbathaginensis.

Corneli^o.
Tacitus.

Also there be dyuers orations / as well in all the booke of the saide autors / as in the historie of Cornelius Tacitus : whiche be very delectable / and for counsayles very expedient to be had in memorie.

And in good saythe I haue often thought that the cōsultations & orations wryten by Tacitus do importe a maiestie with a compendious cloquence therein contained.

In the lerning of these autors / a yonge gentleman shal be taught to note & marke / not only the ordre & elegancie in declaration of the historie : but also the occasion of the warres : the cōsailes & preparations on either part : the estimation of the capitaines / the maner & fourme of theyr gouernance : the continuance of the bataile : the fortune & successe of the holle affaires. Semblably out of the warres in other dayly affaires / the astate of the publike weale : if hit be prosperous or in decaye. what is the very occasion of the one or of the other : the forme and maner of the gouernace therof / the good and cuyll qualities of them that be rulers : the cōmodities and good sequele of vertue ; the discommodies and cuyll
conclu.

conclusion of vicious licence.

Surely if a noble man do thus seriously and diligently rede histories / I dare affirme there is no studie or science for him of equal comoditie and pleasure : hauynge regarde to every tyme and age.

By the time that the childe do com to .xvij. yerres of age / to the intent his courage be bridled with reason : hit were nedefull to rede vnto hym some warkes of philosophie : specially that pte that may enforme him vnto vertuous maners : whiche parte of philosophie is called morall. wherfore there wolde be radde to hym for an introduction two the fyrste bookes of the warke of Aristotell / called *Ethicæ* : wherin is contained the definitions and propre significacions of every vertue : and that to be lerned in greke : for the translations that we yet haue / be but a rude and grosse shadowe of the eloquence & wisdom of Aristotell. For the with wolde folowe the warke of Cicero called in latin *De officiis* : wherunto yet is no pppe englissh worde to be gyuen : but to prouide for it some maner of exposition / it may be sayde in this fourme : Of the dueties and maners appertaynyng to men. But aboue all other / the warkes of

¶

Plato

morall
philoso-
phy.

Tullies
offices.

The Governour.

Plato wolde be most studiously radde/whā
the iugement of a man is come to perfectiō/
and by the other studies is instructed in the
fourme of speakynge that philosophers v-
sed. Lorde god/what incomparable sweet-
nesse of wordes and mater shall be finde in
the saide warkes of Plato & Cicero: wher-
in is ioyned grauitie with dilectation: ex-
cellent wysedome with diuine eloquence:
absolute vertue with pleasure incredible:
& euery place is so infarced with profitable
counsaile/ioyned with honestie: that those
thre bokes be almoste sufficient to make a
perfecte and excellent governour.

☛ The prouerbes of Salomon with the
bokes of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus be
very good lessons. All the bistoriall partes
of the bible / be righte necessarye for to be
radde of a noble man/after that he is ma-
ture in yeres. And the residue (with the
newe testament) is to be reuerētly touched/
as a celestiaall iewell or relike / hauynge the
chiefe interpretour of those bokes trewe
and constant faithe / and dredefully to sette
handes thereon/remembrynge that D³a for
puttyng his hande to the holy shryne/that
was called Archa federis / whan it was brou-
ghte by kyng Dauid frō the citie of Saba/
though

though it were wauerynge and in daunger
to fall / yet was he stryken of god / and fell
deed immediately. It wolde nat be forgot-
ten / that the lytell boke of the most excellent
doctour Erasmus Roterodame (whiche he
wrote to Charles / nowe beyng emperor /
and than prince of Castile) whiche booke is
intituled the Institution of a christen prince /
wolde be as familiare alwaye with gentil-
men at all tymes and in euery age / as was
Homere with the great king Alexander / or
Xenophō with Scipio : for as all men may
iuge / that haue radde that warke of Eras-
mus : that there was neuer boke written in
latine / that in so lytle a portion / containd
of sentence / cloquence / and vertuous exhor-
tation / a more compendious abundaunce.

Erasmus
of the in-
stitutio of
a christen
prynce.

And here I make an ende of the lernynge
and studie / wherby noble men may attayne
to be worthy to haue autoritie in a publike
weale. Alway I shall exhorte tutours and
gouernours of noble chyl dren / that they
suffre them nat to vse ingourgitations of
meate or drinke / ne to slepe moche / that is to
saye / aboue .viij. houres at the moste. For
yndoubtedly bothe repletion and superflu-
ous slepe / be capitall enemies to studie / as
they be semblably to helth of body & soule.

The Gouernour.

Sell. li.
.liii.

Aulus Gellius sayth that children/ if they vse of meate and slepe ouer moche/ be made therewith dull to lerne: and we se that therof slownesse is taken/ & the childrens psonages do waxe vncomely / & lasse growe in stature. Galen wyll nat permitte that pure wyne without alay of water/ shulde in any wyse be gyuen to children/ for as moche as it humecteth the body or maketh it moyster & hotter than is conuenient: also it fylleth the heed with fume / in them specially whiche be lyke as children of hote & moiste temperature. These be well nighe the wordes of the noble Galen.

why gentilmen in this present tyme
be nat equall in doctryne to the
auncient noble men.

Chapi. xii.



Owe wyll I somewhat declare
of the chiefe causes/ why in our
tyme noble men be nat as excel
lent in lernyng/ as they were in
olde tyme amonge the Roma
nes and grekes. Surely as I haue diligent
ly marked in dayly experiēce/ the principall
causes be these. The praide/ avarice/ and ne
gligence

gligence of parentes: and the lacke or fewenesse of sufficient maysters or teachers.

As I sayd / pride is the first cause of this incōuenience. For of those persons be some / which without shame dare affirme / that to a great gētilman / it is a notable reproche to be well lerned / & to be called a great clerke : whiche name they accounte to be of so base estymation / that they neuer haue it in their mouthes / but whan they speke any thyng in derision: whiche perchaunce they wolde nat do if they had ones layser to rede our owne cronicle of Englāde / where they shall fynde / that kynge Henry the first / sonne of willyam conquerour / and one of the moste noble princes that euer reigned in this realme / was opely called Henry beau clerke: whiche is in englysshe / sayre clerke / and is yet at this day so named. And wheder that name be to his honour or to his reproche / let them iuge that do rede & compare his lyfe with his two bretherne / william / called Rouse / and Robert le courtoise / they both nat hauyng seblable lernyng with the sayd Henry / the one for his dissolute lyuyng and tyranny / beyng hated of all his nobles & people / finally was sodaynely slayne by the shotte of an arrowe / as he was buntynge in

Henry
beau clerk
kynge of
Englāde.

The Gouvernour.

a forest/whiche to make larger/and to gyue
his decre more lybertie / he dyd cause the
houses of .lii. pariffhes to be pulled downe/
the people to be expelled/ and all beyng de-
solate/ to be tourned in to desert/and made
onely pasture for beestes sauage. whiche he
wolde neuer haue done/if he had as moche
delyted in good lernig/ as dyd his brother.
The other brother Robert le Curtoise/be-
yng duke of Normandie/ & the eldest sonne
of wylliam Conquerour: all be it that he
was a man of moche prowesse / and right
expert in martiall assayes: wherfore he was
electe before Godfray of Boloigne to haue
ben kyng of Hierusalem: yet natwithstan-
dyng/ whan he inuaded this realme with
fondrie puissaunt armies/also dyuers noble
men aydinge hym: yet his noble brotber
Henry beau clerke/more by wysdome than
power/ also by lernyng/addyng polyeie to
vertue and courage/often tymes vaynquis-
shed hym/and dyd put him to flyght. And
after sondry victories/finally toke him and
kepte hym in prison: bauyng none other
meanes to kepe his realme in tranquillitie.
It was for no rebuke/ but for an excellent
honour/that the emperour Antonine was
surnamed philosopher/ for by his most no-
ble ex.

ble example of lyuing & industrie incomparable/ he during all the tyme of his reigne kept the publike weale of the Romanes in suche a perfecte astate/ that by his actes he confirmed the sayeng of Plato: That blessed is that publike weale/ wherin either philosophers do reigne: or els kiges be in philosophie studious. These persones that so moche contemne lernyng/ that they wolde that gentilmens children shulde haue no parte or very litle therof: but rather shulde spende their youth alway (I saye not onely in huntyng and haukyng/ whiche moderately vsed as solaces ought to be/ I intende nat to dispraise) but in those ydle pastymes/ whiche for the vice that is therein/ the commaundement of the prince/ and the vniuersall cosent of the people expressed in statutes & lawes do prohibite/ I meane playeng at dyce and other games named vnlefull. These persones I say/ I wolde shulde remembre/ or elles nowe lerne/ if they neuer els herde it/ that the noble Philip kyng of Macedonia/ who subdued al Grece/ aboue all the good fortunes that euer he hadde/ most reioysed that his sonne Alexander was borne in the tyme that Aristotle the philosopher flourished/ by whose instruction he

f. iij.

mought

The Gouvernour.

mought attaine to most excellent lernynge.
Also the same Alexander often tymes sayd/
that he was equally as moche bounden to
Aristotle as to his father kyng Philip: for
of his father he receyued lyfe: but of Ari-
stotle he receyued the waye to lyue nobly.
who dispraysed Epaminondas/ the mooste
valiant capitayne of Thebaues/ for that he
was excellently lerned and a great philoso-
pher? who euer discomēded Julius Cesar/
for that he was a noble oratour / & nexte to
Tulli in the eloquence of the latin tonge ex-
celled al other? who euer reproved the em-
perour Hadriane/ for that he was so exqui-
sitely lerned/ nat onely in greke and latine/
but also in all sciences liberall/ that openly
at Athenes in the vniuersall assēbly of the
greateste clerkes of the worlde / he by a
lōge tyme disputed with philosophers and
Rhetoriciens/ whiche were esteemed mooste
excellēt/ & by the iugemēt of them that were
presēt/ had the palme or rewarde of victorie.
And yet by the gouernācc of that noble em-
perour/ nat only the publik weale florissbed/
but also diuers rebellios were suppressed/ &
the maiesty of the empire hugely increased.
was it any reproche to the noble Germa-
nicus (who by the assignemēt of Augustus
shulde

shulde haue succeeded Tiberius in the empire / if traitorous enuy had nat in his flou-
rysshyng youth bireft hym his lyfe) that
he was equall to the moost noble poetes of
his time: and to the increase of his honour
and moost worthy comendation / his image
was set vp at Rome in the habite that poe-
tes at those dayes vsed: Fynally howe
moche excellent lernynge commendeth and
nat dispraiseth nobilitie / it shal playnly ap-
pere vnto them that do rede the lyfes of
Alexander / called Seuerus / Tacitus / Pro-
bus / Aurelius / Constantine / Theodosius / &
Charles the gret / surnamed Charlemaine /
all beinge emperours : and do compare
them with other whiche lacked or had nat
so moche of doctrine. Verily they be ferre
from good raison in myne opinion / whiche
couaite to haue their children goodly in sta-
ture / stronge / deliuer / well singyng : wberin
trees / beastes / fysshes / and byrdes / be nat
only with them equall / but also ferre do ex-
cede them : And connyng / wherby onely
man excelleth all other creatures in erthe /
they reiecte and accouite vnworthy to be in
their children. what vnkinde appetite were
it to desyre to be farther rather of a pece of
fleshe / that can onely meue and feele / than

The Gouernour.

of a childe / that shulde haue the perfecte
fourme of a man ? what so perfectly ex-
presseth a man as doctrine : Diogines the
philosopher seing one without lernynge syt
on a stone / sayde to them that were with
him / beholde where one stone sytteth on an
other. whiche wordes well considered and
tried / shall appere to contayne in it wonder
full matter / for the approbatiō of doctrine.
wherof a wyse man maye accumulate ine-
uitable argumentes : whiche I of necessite /
to auoide tediousnes / must nedes passe ouer
at this tyme.

The seconde and thirde decay of lernyng
amonge gentilmen. Cap. xiiij.



The seconde occasion wherfore
gentylmens children seldome
haue sufficient lernynge / is a-
uarice : For where theyr pa-
rentes wyll nat aduerture to
sende them farre out of theyr propre coun-
trayes / partely for seare of dethe / whiche
perchace dare nat approche them at home
with theyr father : partely for expence of
money / whiche they suppose wolde be lasse
in theyr owne houses / or in a village with
some

some of theyr tenants or frendes : hauyng
feldome any regarde to the teacher / whe-
ther he be well lerned or ignorant. For if
they hire a schole maister to teche in theyr
houses / they chiefly enquire with howe
small a salary he will be contented / & neuer
do inferche howe moche good lernynge he
hath / and howe amonge well lerned men
he is therein esteemed / vsinge therein lasse dili-
gence than in takynge seruantes / whose ser-
uice is of moche lasse importance / and to a
good schole maister is nat in profite to be
compared. A gentil man / er he take a cooke
in to his seruice / he wyll firste diligently ex-
amine hym / howe many sortes of meates /
potages / and sauces he can perfectly make /
and howe well he can seaso them / that they
may be bothe pleasant and nourishynge.
yea and if it be but a fauconer / he wyll scru-
pulously enquire / what skyll he hath in fee-
dyng / called diete / and kepyng of his hauke
from all sickenes : also how he can reclaime
her & prepare her to flyght. And to suche a
cooke or fauconer / whom he findeth expert /
he spareth nat to gyue moche wages with
other bouiteous rewardes. But of a schole
maister / to whom he will comitte his childe
to be fedde with lernynge / and instructed in
vertue /

The Gouernour.

vertue / whose lyfe shall be the principall monument of his name and honour / he neuer maketh further enquire / but where he may haue a schole maister : and with howe litle charge : & if one be perchance founden well lerned / but he will nat take paynes to teache without he may haue a great salary : he than spebeth nothing more / or els saith : what shall so moche wages be gyuen to a schole maister / whiche wolde kepe me two seruantes : to whom maye be saide these wordes / that by his sonne being wel lerned he shall receiue more commoditie and also worship / than by the seruice of a hundred cokes and fauconers.

The thirde cause of this hyndrance is negligence of parentes / whiche I do specially note in this poynt / there haue bene diuers as well gentill men as of the nobilitie / that deliting to haue their sonnes excellent in lernynge / haue prouided for them connyng maysters / who substancially haue taught them gramer / and very wel instructed them to speake latine elegantly : wherof the parentes haue taken moche delectation / but whan they haue had of gramer sufficient and be comen to the age of .xiiij. yeres / and do approche or drawe towarde the astate
of

of mā: whiche age is called mature or ripe
(wherin nat onely the saide lernyng conti-
nued by moche experience shal be perfectly
digested & confirmed in perpetuall remem-
brance: but also more seriouſe lernynge cō-
tayned in other lyberall sciences / and also
philosophy wolde than be lerned) the pa-
rentes / that thinge nothinge regarding / but
being suffised that their children can onely
speke latine propzely: or make verses with
out mater or sentence: they frō thens forth
do suffre them to liue in idelnes / or els put-
ting them to seruice / do as it were banish he
them from all vertuous study / or exercise /
of that whiche they before lerned: so that
we may beholde diuers yonge gentill men /
who in their infancie and childehode / were
wondzed at for their aptnes to lerning / and
prompt speakinge of elegant latine / whiche
nowe beinge men / nat onely haue forgotten
their congruite (as is the cōmune worde) &
vnneth can speake one hole sentence in true
latine: but that wars is / hath all lernynge
in derision: and in skorne tberof wyll of
wantonnesse speake the moste barberously
that they can imagine.

Nowe some mā wyll require me to shewe
myne opinion / if it be necessary that gentil-
men

The Governour.

men ſhulde after the age of .xiiij. yeres continue in studie. And to be playne and trewe therein: I dare affirme / that if the elegant ſpeking of latin be nat added to other doctrine / litle frute may come of the tonge / ſens latine is but a naturall ſpeeche / and the frute of ſpeeche is wyſe ſentence / whiche is gathered and made of ſondry lernynges. And who that hath nothinge but langage only / may be no more praiſed than a popinay / a pye / or a ſtare / whā they ſpeke featly. There be many nowe a dayes in famous ſcholes & yniuerſities / whiche be ſo moche gyuen to the studie of tonges onely / that whan they write epiſtles / they ſeme to the reder / that lyke to a trumpet they make a ſoune without any purpoſe: where vnto men do herken more for the noyſe than for any delectatiō that therby is meued. wherfore they be moche abuſed / that ſuppoſe eloquence to be only in wordes or coulours of Rhetorike / for as Tulli ſaith / what is ſo furioſe or mad a thinge / as a vaine ſoune of wordes of the beſt ſort & moſt ornate / containing neither connyng nor ſentēce: Vndoubtedly very eloquence is in euery tōge / where any mater or acte done or to be done is expreſſed in wordes clene / propiſe / ornate / and

what eloquence is.

and comely : wherof sentences be so aptly compact that they by a vertue inexplicable do drawe vnto them the mindes and cōsent of the hearers / they beinge therewith either pswaded/meued/or to delectation induced. Also euery man is nat an oratour / that can write an epistle or a flatering oratiō in latin: where of the laste (as god helpe me) is to moche vsed. For a right oratour may nat be without a moche better furniture. Tulli saienge / that to him belongeth the explicating or vnfoldinge of sentence with a great estimation/in gyuing counsaile concerninge maters of great importaunce : also to him appertaineth the steriing and quickning of people languiss hinge or dispeiringe / and to moderate them that be raffe & vnbridled. wherfore noble autours do affirme / that in the firste infancie of the worlde / men wandring like beastes in woddess and on mountaines / regardinge neither the religion due vnto god / nor the office pertainig vnto mā / ordred all thing by bodily strength : yntill Mercurius (as Plato supposeth) or some other man holpen by sapience. & eloquence / by some apt or ppre oration assēbled them to geder / & pswaded to thē / what cōmodite was in mutual cōuersatiō & bonest maners.

But

The Governour.

Com. Ta.
de orat.

But yet Cornelius Tacitus describeth an oratour to be of more excellent qualities/ saynge that an oratour is he / that can or may speke or raïson in euery question sufficiently/elegantly : and to perswade properly/ accordyng to the dignitie of the thyng that is spoken of/the oportunitie of time/ & pleasure of thē that be herers. Tulli before him affirmed that a man may nat be an oratour heaped with praise/ but if he haue gottē the knowlege of all thynges / & artes of greatest importaunce. And howe shall an oratour speake of that thyng / that he hath nat lerned. And bicause there may be no thyng but it may happen to come in praise or dispraise/ in consultation or iugement / in accusation or defence : therfore an oratour by others instruction perfectly furnished/ may in euery mater and lernynge/ cōmende or dispraise : exhorde or dissuade : accuse or defende eloquently / as occasion hapneth. wherfore in as moche as in an oratour is required to be a heape of all maner of lernynge : whiche of some is called the worlde of science : of other the circle of doctrine/ whiche is in one worde of greeke *Encyclopes dia* : therfore at this day/ may be fōūden but a very few oratours. For they that come in
message

message from princes/be for honour named
nowe oratours / if they be in any degre of
worshyp: onely poore men hauyng equall
or more of lernyng/beyng called messagers.
Also they whiche do onely teache rhetor-
ike/whiche is the sciēce wherby is taught
an artificyall fourme of spekyng: wherin is
the power to perswade / moue / and delyte:
or by that science onely do speke or write
without any adminiculation of other sci-
ences: ought to be named rhetoriciens/ de-
clamatours / artificyall speakers (named in
Greke Logodedast) or any other name than
oratours.

Semblably they that make verses / expres-
syng therby none other lernynge but the
craft of versifyeng/be nat of aunciet writers
named poetes/ but onely called versifyers.
For the name of a poete/ wherat nowe (spe-
cially in this realme) men haue suche in-
dignation/ that they vse onely poetes and
poetry in the contempte of eloquence: was
in auncient tyme in bygh estimation: in so
moche that all wysdome was supposed to
be therein included/ and poetry was the first
philosophy that euer was knowen: wher-
by mē from their childhode were brought
to the reason howe to lyue well / lernynge
therby

The Governours.

Ci. Tusc.
quest. i.

therby nat onely maners and naturall affections/ but also the wonderfull werkes of nature/ mixing serious mater with thynges that were pleasaunt: as it shall be manifest to them that shall be so fortunate; to rede the noble warkes of Plato and Aristotle: wherin he shall fynde the autoritie of poetes frequently alleged: ye and that more is: In poetes was supposed to be science mysticall and inspired: and therfore in latine they were called *Doctes*: which worde signifyeth as moche as prophetes. And therfore Tulli in his Tusculane questyons supposeth that a poete can nat abundantly expresse verses sufficient and complete / or that his eloquence may flowe without labour/ wordes wel sounyng and plentiuouse/ without celestiaall instinction. whiche is also by Plato ratified. But sens we be now occupied in the defence of *Doctes*/ it shall nat be incongruent to our mater to shewe what profite may be taken by the diligent reding of auncient poetes/ contrary to the false opinion that nowe rayneth of them that suppose/ that in the warkes of poetes is contayned notbynge but baudry (suche is their foule worde of reproche) and vnprofitable leasinges. But first I wyll interpret

prete some verses of Horace/ wherein he exp-
 resseth the office of poetes: and after wyll
 I resorte to a more playne demonstration
 of some wisdomes and counsayles contay-
 ned in some verses of poetes. Horace in
 his seconde booke of epistles sayth in this
 wyse/ or moche lyke.

The poete facyoneth by some pleasant mene
 The speche of children tendre and ynsure:
 Pullyng their eares from wordes vnclene
 Syuing to them/ preceptes that are pure:
 Rebukyng enuy and wrathe if it dure
 Thynges wel done he can by exaple comede
 The nedy & sicke he dothe also his cure
 To recomfort/ if aught he can amende.

horat. ep.
 li. ii. ep. 1
 ad Augu-
 stum.

But they whiche be ignoraunt in poetes/
 wyll perchaunce obiecte as is their maner/
 agayne these verses/ sayeng that in Thea-
 rence and other that were writers of come-
 dies: also Ouide/Latullus/Martialis & all
 that route of lasciuious poetes that wrate
 epistles and ditties of loue / some called in
 latine Elegiae/ & some Epigramata/ is nothyng
 contayned but incitation to lechery. First
 comedies whiche they suppose to be a do-
 ctrinall of rybaudrie / they be yndoutedly

~

G.ij.

a picture

The Governour.

a picture or as it were a mirrour of mans
life. wherein iuell is nat taught but discoue-
red to the intent that men beholdynge the
pmpynes of youth vnto vice: the snares of
harlottj & baudes laide for yonge myndes:
the disceipte of seruantes: the chaunces of
fortune cōtrary to mēnes expectation: they
beinge therof warned: may prepare them
selfe to resist or preuente occasion. Séblably
remēbring the wisedomes: aduertisemētj:
cōsailes: dissuasion from vice & other pfi-
table sētences: most eloquētly & familiarely
shewed in those comedies/ Vndoubtedly
there shal be no litle frute out of them ga-
thered: And if the vices in them expressed
shulde be cause that myndes of the reders
shulde be corrupted: than by the same ar-
gumente nat onely entreludes in engliss be/
but also sermones wherein some vice is de-
clared / shulde be to the beholders and he-
rers like occasion to encrease sinners. And
that by comedies good counsaile is mini-
stred: it appiereth by the sentence of Par-
meno in the seconde comedie of Therence.

Therent.
in Eunuch.

In this thinge I triumphe in myne owne conceipte
That I haue founden for all yonge men the way
Howe they of Harlottes shall knowe the deceipte
Their wittes their maners that thereby they may
Them

Them perpetually hate. for so moche as they
Out of theyr owne houses be freshe and delicate
Fedyng curiousely. at home all the daye
Lpyng beggarly / in moste wretched astate.

There be many mo wordj spoken whiche I
purposely omitte to translate / nat withstan-
dyng the substance of the boile sentence is
berin comprised. But nowe to come to o-
ther poetes / what may be better saide than
is written by Plautus in his firste comedie :

Plautus
I Amphit.
Alc. loq̃tur

Verily Vertue dothe all thinges excellē.
For if libertie / helthe / lpyng / and substance /
Out countray / our parentes and childzen do well
It hapneth by vertue : He doth all aduance.
Vertue hath all thinge vnder gouernaunce
And in whom of vertue is founden great plentie
Any thinge that is good may neuer be deintie.

Also Ouidius / that semeth to be moste of
all poetes lasciuious / in his mooste wanton
bokes bath righte comendable and noble
sentences : as for proufe therof I will recite
some that I haue taken at aduenture.

Ouidius
de remedio
amoris.

Time is in medicine if it shall profite.
wyne gyuen out of tyme may be anoyauce.
A man shall irritate vice if he prohibite
Whan tyme is nat mete vnto his utterance.
Therefore if thou yet by counsaile arte recuperable
Free thou from idleneffe / and alway be stable

The Governour.

Martialis whiche for his dissolute wry-
tynge / is mooste seldome radde of men of
moche grauitie / bath nat withstandynge
many comendable sentences and right wise
counsailles / as amonge diuers I will reherce
one / whiche is first come to my remembrance.

Martialis
lib. ii. rii.
ad Iuliu.

If thou wylte eschewe bytter aduenture
And auoide the gnawynge of a pensifull harte
Sette in no one persone all holy thy pleasure
The lasse ioy shalt thou haue / but thou shalt haue smarte.

I coulde recite a great nombre of seblable
good sentences out of these and other wan-
ton poetry / who in the latine do expresse them
incomparably with more grace & delectatio
to the reder / than our englissh tonge may
yet comprehend. wherfore sens good & wise
mater may be picked out of these poetes / it
were no reason for some lite mater that is
in their verses / to abandone therfore al their
warkes / no more than it were to forbear or
prohibite a man to come into a faire garden /
leste the redolent saours of swete herbes
and floures shall meue him to wanton cou-
rage / or leste in gadringe good and holsome
herbes he may happen to be stunge with a
nettles. No wyse man entreteth in to a garden
but he sone espieth the good herbes from net-
tles / and treadeth the nettles ynder his
fecte

feete whiles he gadreth good herbes. wher
by he taketh no damage: or if he be stügen
he maketh lite of it/ & shortly forgetteth it.
Semblablye if he do rede wanton mater
mixte with wisdomē/ he putteth the warst
vnder foote/ & sorteth out the beste/ or if his
courage be stered or prouoked/ he remem-
breth the litel pleasure & gret detrimēt that
shulde ensue of it: and withdrawyngc his
mide to some other studie or exercise/ short-
ly forgetteth it. And therfore amonge the
iewes though it were phibited to childrē/
vntill they came to rype yeres to reade the
bokes of Genesis/ of the iuges/ Cantica Can-
ticatorum / and some parte of the boke of Eze-
chiel the prophete/ For that in them was
contayned some matter / whiche moughte
happē to incense the yonge mynde / wherin
were sparkes of carnall concupiscence / yet
after certayne yeres of mennes ages/ it was
lesfull for euery man to rede and diligently
studie those warkes. So all though I do
nat approue the lesson of wanton poetes to
be taughte vnto all children: yet thynke I
conuenient and necessary / that whan the
mynde is become constante/ and courage is
asswaged/ or that children of their naturall
disposition be shamfaste & continent / none

The Governour.

none auncient poete wolde be excluded from
the leesson of suche one as desireth to come
to the perfection of wysedome. But in de-
fendynge of oratours and poetes I had all
moste forgotten where I was. Verily there
may no mā be an excellent poet nor oratour/
vnlesse he haue parte of all other doctrine
specially of noble philosophic. And to say
the trouth/ no man can apprehēde the very
delectation that is in the leesson of noble
poetes/ vnlesse he haue radde very moche/
and in diuers autours of diuers lernynge.
wherfore as I late said to the augmentatiō
of vnderstandyng called in latine *Intellectus*
et mens/ is required to be moche redyng and
vigilaunt studie in euery science/ specially of
that parte of philosophic named morall:
whiche instructeth men in vertue and poli-
tike gouernaunce. Also no noble autour spe-
cially of them that wrate in greke or latine
before .xij. L. yeres passed/ is nat for any
cause to be omitted. For therein I am of
Quintilianes opinion/ that there is fewe
or none auncient warke/ that yeldetbe nat
some frute or cōmoditie to the diligent re-
ders. And it is a very grosse or obstinate
witte/ that by readyng moche/ is nat some
what amended, Concernynge the election
of

of other autours / to be radde / I haue (as I
truste) declared sufficiently my conceipt and
opinion / in the firste booke of this litle trea-
rise. Finally like as a delicate tree / that co-
meth of a kernell / whiche as sone as it bur-
geneth out leues : if it be plucked vppe / or it
be sufficiently rooted / and layde in a corner /
it becometh drye or rotten / and no frute co-
meth of it : if it be remoued and sette in an
other ayre or erthe / whiche is of contrary
qualities where it was before / it either sem-
blably dieth / or beareth no frute / or els the
frute that cometh of it / leseth his verdure
and taste / and finally his estimation.

So the pure and excellent lerning wherof
I haue spoken / though it be sown in a
childe neuer so tymely / and springeth and
burgeneth neuer so pleasauntly / if byfore it
take a depe rote in the mynde of the childe /
it be layde a syde / either by to moche so-
lace / or continuall attendaunce in seruice / or
els is translated to an other studie / whiche
is of a more grose or vnpleasaunt qualitie /
before it be confirmed or stabliss bed by of-
ten reding or diligent exercise / in conclusion
it vanisseth and cometh to no thing. wher-
fore lete men replie as they list / but in myne
opinion / men be woderfully disceyued howe
a dayes

a semblable
burgeneth

verdure &
taste

to sprunge &
burgen

The Gouernour.

a dayes (I dare nat saye with the persua-
sion of avarice) that do put their children
at the age of .xiiij. or .xv. yeres to the studie
of the lawes of the realme of Englande. I
will shewe to them reasonable causes why/
if they wyll paciently here me/infourmed
partely by myne owne experience.

Howe the studentes in the lawes of this re-
alme / maye take excellent comoditie by
the lessons of sodrie doctrines La. xiiij.



U may nat be denyed/ but that
al lawes be founded on the de-
pest parte of raison / and as I
suppose/ no one lawe so moche
as our owne: & the deper men
do inuestigate raison / the more difficile or
barde muste nedes be the studie: also that
reuerende studie is inuolued in so barba-
rouse a langage / that it is nat onely voyde
of all eloquence / but also beyng seperate
from the exercise of our lawe onely / it ser-
ueth to no comoditie or necessary purpose/
no man vnderstandyng it but they whiche
haue studyed the lawes. Than children at
.xiiij. or .xv. yeres olde / in whiche tyme sprin-
geth courage / set all in pleasure / and plea-
sure

sure is in nothyng that is nat facile or elegant/ beyng brought to the moste difficulte and graue lernyng/ whiche hath no thyng illecebrouse or delicate to tickyll their tender wyttes and alure them to studie (onles it be lucre/ whiche a gentyll witte lytle este- meth) the more parte vainquissed with tediousnesse/ either do abandone the lawes/ and vnwares to their frēdes/ do gyue them to gamyng and other (as I mought saye) idle busynesse now called pastymes/ or els if they be in any wyse therto constrained/ they apprehēdyng a piece therof/ as if they beyng longe in a derke pūgeon onely dyd se by the light of a candell: Than if after .xx. or .xxx. yeres studie they happen to come amonge wyse men/ hering maters comened of/ concerning a publike weale/ or outwarde affaires betwene princes/ they no lasse be astonied/ thā of cōmyng out of a darke hōuse at noone dayes/ they were sodaynly striken in the eyen with a bright sonne beame. But I speke nat this in reproche of lawyers/ for I knowe dyuers of them/ whiche in consultation wyll make a right vehement raison/ and so do some other/ whiche hath neither lawe nor other lernyng/ yet the one and the other if they were sournissed with excellent

abandone

The Gouernour.

let doctrine/their raison shulde be the more
substanciall and certayne. There be some
also whiche by their frendes be coarted to
aplye the studie of the lawe onely/ and for
lacke of plentiuouse exhibition be let of their
lybertie/ wherfore they cannat resorte vnto
passetyme/ these of all other be moste caste
awaye/ for nature repugnyng they vnneth
taste any thing that may be profytable/ and
also their courage is so mortified (whiche
yet by solace perchaunce mought be made
quicke or apte to some other studie or lau-
dable exercise) that they lyue euer after out
of all estimation. wherfore Tulli sayeth/ we
shulde so indeuour our selves that we strue
nat with the vniuersall nature of man/ but
that beyng conserued/ lette vs folowe our
owne propre natures/ that thoughbe there
be studies more graue and of more impor-
taunce/ yet ought we to regarde the studies
wherto we be by our owne nature inclined.
And that this sentece is true/ we haue day-
ly experience/ in this realme specially. For
how many men be there that hauyng their
sonnes in childhode aptly disposed by na-
ture to paynte/ to kerue/ or graue/ to em-
browder/ or do other lyke thynges wherin
is any arte comendable concernyng inuen-
tion

tion/ but that as sone as they espie it/ they
be therewith displeased/ and forthwith byn-
deth them apprentices to taylours/ to way-
uers/ to towkers/ and somtyme to coblers.
whiche haue ben the inestimable losse of ma-
ny good wittes/ & haue caused that in the
said artes englissmen be inferiours to all o-
ther people/ and be constrayned/ if we wyll
haue any thing well paynted/ kerued/ or
embrawdred/ to abandone our owne coun-
traymen and resorte vnto straungers/ but
more of this shall I speke in the nexte vo-
lume. But to resorte vnto lawyars. I thinke
verily if children were brought vppe as I
haue written/ and continually were retay-
ned in the right studie of very philosophy/
vntyll they passed the age of .xxj. yeres/ and
than set to the lawes of this realme (being
ones brought to a more certayne and com-
pendiouse studie/ and either in englisshe/ la-
tine/ or good french/ written in a more clene
and elegant stile) vndoughtedly they shuld
become men of so excellent wisedome/ that
throughout all the worlde shulde be foun-
den in no comune weale more noble coun-
saylours/ our lawes nat onely comprehen-
dyng most excellent raisons/ but also beyng
gadred and compacte (as I mought saye)
of

The Governour.

of the pure meale or floure syfted out of the best lawes of all other countrayes/ as somewhat I do intende to proue euidently in the nexte volume/ wherein I wyll rendre myne offyce or duetie/ to that honorable studie/ wherby my father was aduaunced to a iuge/ and also I my selfe haue attayned no lytle commoditie.

¶ I suppose dyuers men ther be that will say/ that the swetnesse that is containyd in eloquence and the multitude of doctrines/ shulde vtterly withdrawe the myndes of yonge men from the more necessary studie of the lawes of this realme: To them wyll I make a brieve answer/ but true it shalbe and I trust sufficiēt to wise men. In the gret multitude of yonge men/ whiche alway will repayre/ and the lawe beinge ones brought in to a more certayne and perfect langage/ will also iuecrease in the reuerent studie of the lawe/ vndoughtedly there shal neuer lacke but some by nature inclyned/ dyuers by desyre of sondrie doctrines/ many for hope of lucre or some other aduaūcement/ will effectuelly studie the lawes/ ne will be therfrom withdrawen by any other lesson whiche is more eloquent. Example we haue at this present tyme of diuers excel-
lent

lent lerned men bothe in the lawes ciuile
as also in phisike/whiche being exactly stu-
dyed in all partes of eloquence bothe in the
Greeke tonge and latine/ haue nat withstan-
ding radde and perused the great fardelles
and trusses of the most barbarouse autours
stuffed with innumerable gloses: wherby
the moste necessary doctrines of lawe and
phisike be mynced in to fragmentes/ and in
all wise mens opinions/ do perceyue no lasse
in the said lernynges than they whiche ne-
uer knewe eloquence/ or neuer tasted other
but the fecis or dragges of the sayd noble
doctrines. And as for the multitude of sci-
ences can nat indamage any student/ but if
he be meued to studie the lawe by any of
the sayd motions by me before touched/ he
shal rather increase therin thā be hyndred/
and that shal apere manifestly to theym
that either will gyue credence to my re-
porte/ or els will rede the warkes that I
wyll alledge: whiche if they vnderstande
nat/ to desyre some lerned man by interpre-
tinge to cause them perceyue it. And first I
wil begyn at oratours/ who beare the prin-
cipall tytyle of eloquence.

It is to be remembred that in the lernyng
of the lawes of this realme/ there is at this
daye

The arte
of Retor-
rycke in
mooringe.

The Gouernour.

daye an exercise/ wherein is a maner a shadowe or figure of the auncient rhetorike. I meane the pleadyng vſed in courte and Chaucery called mores. where fyrſt a caſe is appoynted to be moted by certayne yonge men contaynyng ſome doubtfull cōtrouerſie/whiche is in ſtede of the heed of a declamation called *thema*/the caſe beinge knowen/they whiche be appoynted to mote/do examine the caſe/ & inueſtigate what they therein can eſpie/whiche may make a cōtention/wherof may ryſe a queſtion to be argued/ & that of Tulli is called *conſtitutio*/ & of Quintilian *ſtatus cauſar*. Alſo they conſider what plects on euery parte ought to be made/and howe the caſe maye be reaſoned. whiche is the fyrſte parte of Rhetorike named *Inuention*/than appoynte they howe many plects maye be made for euery parte/and in what formalitie they ſhulde be ſette. whiche is the ſecōde parte of Rhetorike called *diſpoſition*. wherein they do moche approche vnto Rhetorike/than gather they all in to pfecte remembrance /in ſuche ordre as it ought to be pleaded. whiche is the parte of Rhetorike named *memorie*. But for as moche as the tonge wherein it is ſpoke/is barbarouſe/and the ſteryng of affections of the mynde

in this realme was neuer vsed : therfore
there lacketh Eloquution/ and Pronunciation/
two the principall partes of rhetorike. Nat
withstanding some lawyers/ if they be well
retayned/ wyll in a meane cause pronounce
right vehemently. Moreover there semeth
to be in the sayd pledinges/ certayne partes
of an oration : that is to say/ for Narrations/
Partitions/ Confirmations/ and Confutations/
named of some Reprehensions : They haue
Declarations/ Barres/ Replications/ and Reioyn-
dres/ onely they lacke pleasaunt fourme of
begynnyng/ called in latine Exordiu : nor it
maketh therof no great mater : they that
haue studied rhetorike/ shal perceyue what
I meane. Also in arguynge their cases/ in
myn opinion/ they very litle do lacke of the
hole arte: for therein they do diligently ob-
serue the rules of Confirmation and Con-
futation/ wherein resteth proufe & disproufe:
hauyng almoste all the places/ wherof they
shall fetch their raisons / called of Ora-
tours loci communes: which I omitte to name/
fearinge to be to longe in this mater. And
verily I suppose/ if there mought ones hap-
pen some man/ hauyng an excellēt wytte/ to
be brought vp in suche fourme as I haue
hytherto witten/ and maye also be exactly

The Governour.

or depely lerned in the arte of an Oratour/
and also in the lawes of this realme / the
prince so willyng and therto assistinge / vn-
doughtedly it shulde nat be impossible for
hym to bring the pleadyng and reasonyng
of the lawe / to the auncient fourme of noble
oratours : and the lawes & exercise therof /
beyng in pure latine or doulce frenche / fewe
men in consultations shulde (in myne opi-
nion) compare with our lawyers / by this
meanes beinge brought to be pfect orators /
as in whome shulde than be founden the
sharpe wittes of logitians / the graue sen-
tences of philosophers / the elegancie of
poetes / the memorie of ciuilians / the voice
and gesture of them that can pronounce co-
medies: whiche is all that Tulli in the per-
son of the most eloquent man Marcus An-
tonius / coulde require to be in an oratour.

Cl. de ora
tor. li. i.

But nowe to cōclude myne assertion / what
let was eloquence to the studie of the lawe
in Quintus Sceuola / whiche beinge an ex-
cellent autour in the lawes ciuile / was cal-
led of al lawiers moste eloquent: Or howe
moche was eloquence minished by know-
lege of the lawes in Crassus / whiche was
called of all eloquent men the beste lawier?
Also Seruus Sulpitius / in his tyme one of
the

the moste noble oratours next vnto Tulli/
was nat so let by eloquence/ but that on the
ciuile lawes he made notable cōmētes/ and
many noble warkes/ by all lawyers appro-
ued. who redeth the text of Liuille/ called
the Pandectes or Digestes/ and hath any cō-
mendable iugement in the latine tonge/ but
he wyll affirme / that *Ulpianus* / *Scevola* /
Claudius / and all the other there named/
of whose sayenges all the saide textis be as-
sembled / were nat only studious of eloquēce/
but also wonderfull exercised: for as moche
as theyz stile dothe approche nerer to the
antique & pure eloquēce/ thā any other kide
of writars that wrote aboute that tyme.

Sēblably Tulli/ in whom it semeth that E-
loquēce hath sette her glorio⁹ Throne most
richely & preciousely adourned for all men
to wonder at/ but no man to approche it/
was nat let from beinge an incomparable
orateur/ ne was nat by the exacte knowlege
of other sciēces withdrawn from plea-
dyng infinite causes before the Senate and
iuges: and they beinge of moste waightye
importance: In so moche as *Cornelius Ta-*
citus/ an excellēt orateur/ historien/ & lawiar/
saithe: Surely in the booke of Tulli/ men
may deprehende/ that in hym lacked nat

Corn. Ta.
de orator.

v.ij.

the

The Gouernour.

the knowlege of geometrye / ne musike / ne
gramer / finally of no maner of art that was
honest : he of logike pceiued the subtiltie /
of that parte that was morall all the com-
moditie / and of all thinges the chiefe mo-
tions and causis. And yet for all this abun-
dance / and as it were a garnerde heaped
with all maner sciences : there failed nat in
him substaciall lernyng in the lawes Liuite /
as it may appiere as wel in the bokes / whi-
che he him selfe made of lawes / as also / and
most specially / in many of his most eloquent
orations. whiche if one well lerned in the
lawes of this realme / dyd rede and wel vn-
derstande / he shulde finde / specially in his
orations called *Actiones* agayne *Verres* /
many places / where he shulde espie / by like
libode the fountaynes / from whence pceded
diuers groundes of our comune lawes.
But I wyll nowe leue to speake any more
therof at this tyme.

All that I haue writen well considered / it
shal seme to wise mē / that neither eloquence
nor knowlege of sondry doctrines / shall vt-
terly withdrawe all men from studie of the
lawes : But all though many were allected
vnto those doctrines by naturall dispositio /
yet the same nature / whiche wyll nat (as I
mought

mought saye) be circumscribed within the boundes of a certayne of studies / may as well dispose some man / as well to desire the knowlege of the lawes of this realme / as if he dyd incline the Romanes excellently learned in all sciences / to apprehende the lawes ciuile / sens the lawes of this realme / beinge well gathered and brought in good latine / shal be worthy to haue like praise / as Tulli gaue to the lawes comprehended in the .xij. tables : from whens all ciuile lawe flowed. whiche praise was in this wise. Al though me will abraide at it / I wyll say as I thike : the one litle booke of the .xij. tables / semeth to me to surmounte the libraries of all the philosophers in waighty autoritie & abundance of profite / beholde who so wyll the fountaines and beedes of the lawes.

Ci. de ora
tori. li. i.

More ouer / whan yonge men haue radde lawes / expounded in the orations of Tulli / and also in histories of the begynnynge of lawes / and in the warkes of Plato / Xenophon / and Aristotell / of the diuersities of lawes and publike weales / if nature (as I late saide) wyll dispose them to that maner studie : they shall be therto the more incensed / and come vnto it the better prepared and furnisshed. And they whom nature

B. iij.

ther.

The Governour.

therto nothinge meueth / haue nat only sa-
ued all that time / which many now a dayes
do consume in idlenesse : but also haue wōne
suche a treasure / wherby they shall alway
be able to serue honourably theyr prince /
and the publike weale of theyr countray /
principally if they cōferre al their doctrines
to the moste noble studie of morall philo-
sophie / whiche teacheth both vertues ma-
ners / and ciuile policie. wherby at the laste
we shulde haue in this realme sufficiēcie of
worshypfull lawyers / and also a publike
weale equialēt to the grekes or Romanes.

For what cause at this day there be in
this realme fewe perfecte schole
maisters. Cap. xv.



O:de god howe many good
and clene wittes of children be
nowe a dayes perissed by ig-
norant schole maisters: Howe
litle substancial doctrine is ap-
prehended by the fewenesse of good gra-
mariens? Not withstanding I knowe that
there be some well lerned / whiche haue
taught / & also do teache / but god knoweth
a fewe / and they with small effecte / bauyng
therto

thereto no comforte / theyz aptist and moſte
 ppze ſcholers / after they be well instructed
 in ſpeakyng latine / and vnderſtanding ſome
 poetes / beinge taken from theyz ſchole by
 their parêtes / and either be brought to the
 courte / and made lakayes or pages : or els
 are bounden prentiſes : wherby the wor-
 ſhyp that the maiſter aboue any rewarde /
 couaiteth to haue by the praiſe of his ſcho-
 ler is vtily drowned. wherof I haue herde
 ſchole maiſters very well lerned / of good
 righte complayne. But yet (as I ſayd) the
 ſeweneſſe of good gramariens is a great im-
 pedimēt of doctrine. (and here I wolde the
 reders ſhulde marke that I note to be ſewe
 good gramariens and not none.) I call nat
 them gramariens / whiche onely can teache
 or make rules / wherby a childe ſhall onely
 lerne to ſpeake congrue latine / or to make
 fixe verſis ſtandyng in one fote / wherin per-
 chance ſhal be neither ſentēce nor eloquēce.
 But I name hym a gramerien by the au-
 toutie of Quintilian / that ſpeakynge latine
 elegantly / can expounde good autours / ex-
 preſſynge the inuention and diſpoſition of
 the mater / their ſtile or fourme of eloquēce /
 explicatyng the figures / as well of ſentēces
 as wordes / leuyng nothyng / pſone or place

fab. Quin-
 tilian. li. i.

D. iij.

named

The Governour.

named by the autour/vndeclared or hidde
from his scholers. wherfore Quintilian
saith: it is nat inough for hym to haue read
poetes/but all kyndes of wrytyng must also
be sought for: nat for the histories only/but
also for the proprietic of wordes/whiche co-
munely do receiue theyr autoritie of noble
autours. More ouer without musike/gra-
mer may nat be perfecte: for as moche as
therin muste be spoken of metres and har-
monies called rithmi in greke. Neither if
he haue nat the knowlege of sterres/he may
vnderstande poetes / whiche in description
of times (I omitte other thig) they traicte
of the risinge & goinge downe of planettes.
Also he may nat be ignorāt in philosophie:
for many places that be almooste in euerye
poete/fetched out of the moit subtile parte
of naturall questions. These be well nigh
the wordes of Quintilian: I han beholde
howe fewe gramariens / after this descri-
ption/be in this realme.

Vndoubtedly ther be in this realme many
well lerned/whiche if the name of a schole
maister were nat so moche had in contēpte/
and also if theyr labours with abundant
salaries mought be requited / were righte
sufficient and able to induce their herers to
excele

excellent lernynge : so they be nat plucked
away grene/and er they be in doctrine suffi-
ciently rooted. But now e a dayes / if to a
bachelar or maister of arte/studie of philo-
sophie waxeth tedious / if he haue a spon-
full of latine/he wyll shewe forth a hogges-
heed without any lernynge / & offre to teache
gramer and expoune noble writers : and to
be in the roome of a maister : he wyll for a
small salarie / sette a false colour of lernynge
on propre wittes / whiche wyll be washed
away with one shoure of raine. For if the
children be absent from schole by the space
of one moneth/the best lerned of them/will
vneeth tell wheder feto/wherby Encas was
brought i to Itali/were other a mā/a horse
a shyppe / or a wylde goose : All though
their maister wyll perchance auunte hym
selfe to be a good philosopher. Some men
pauenture do thinke/that at the begynning
of lernynge/it forceth nat / all though
the maisters haue nat so exacte doctrine as
I haue reherced/but let the take good bede/
what Quintilian saith : that it is so moche
the better to be instructed by them that are
beste lerned : for as moche as it is difficultie
to put out of the mynde/that whiche is o-
nes settilled/the double bourde beinge pain-

D.v.

full

may be

so be

Vergilius
Æneid &
in secundo.fab.
Quint.
lib. 1.

The Governour.

full to the maisters that shal succede: & verily moche more to ynteache thā to teache.

wherfore it is writen / that Timothe the noble musitian/demaunded alway a gretter rewarde of them/whom other had taught/ than of them that neuer any thinge lerned. These be the wordes of Quintilian or like.

Also cōmune experience teacheth / that no man will put his sone to a botcher to lerne/ or he bynde hym prentise to a taylour: or if he wyll haue hym a connyng goldsmith/ wyll bynde hym firste prentise to a tynkar: in these thynges poure men be circumspect/ and the nobles and gentilmen / who wolde haue their sonnes by excellent lerning come vnto honour / for sparynge of coste / or for lacke of diligent serche for a good schole maister/wilfully destroy their children/causinge them to be taught that lerninge/whiche wolde require sixe or seuen yeres to be forgotten: by whiche tyme the more parte of that age is spente / wherin is the chiefe sharpnesse of witte/called in latine acumen: and also thā approcheth the stubborne age/ where the childe broughte vp in pleasure/ disdayneth correction.

imperfect Nowe haue I all declared (as I do suppose) the chiefe impechementes of excellent
ler.

lernynge : of the reformation I nede nat to
speake/sens it is apparant/that by the con-
traries / men pursuinge it earnestly with di-
crete iugemēt/ and liberalitie/it wolde sone
be amended.

Of sondry fourmes of exercise necessary
for euery gentelman. Cap. xvj.



Al thoughe I haue hitherto
aduaunced the cōmendation
of lernynge/specially in gentil
men. yet it is to be cōsidered/
that continuall studie with-
out some maner of exercise/shortly exhau-
steth the spirites vitall / and hyndereth na-
turall decoction and digestion/wherby mā-
nes body is the soner corrupted & brought
in to diuers sickenesis / and finallye the life
is therby made shorter. where contrarye
wise by exercise/whiche is a vehement mo-
tion (as Galene prince of phisitions defi-
neth) the helthe of man is preserued / and
his strength increased : for as moche as the
membres by meuyng and mutuall touchig/
do waxe more harde / and naturall heate in
all the body is therby augmented. More
ouer it maketh the spirites of a man more
stronge

The Governour.

stronge & valiant: so that by the hardnesse of the membres / all labours be more tolerable: by naturall hete the appctite is the more quicke: the chaunge of the substance receiued is the more redy: the nourishinge of all partes of the body is the more sufficient and sure. By valiaunt motion of the spirites/all thiges superfluous be expelled: and the conduits of the body closed. wherefore this parte of phisike / is nat to be contemned or neglected in the educatiō of children / & specially from the age of .xiiij. yeres vpwarde / in whiche tyme strēgth with courage increaseth. More ouer there be diuers maners of exercises: wherof some / onely prepareth & helpeth digestion: some augmenteth also strength & hardnesse of body: other serueth for agilitie and nymblenesse: some for celeritie or spedinesse. There be also / whiche ought to be vsed for necessitie only. All these ought be that is a tutor to a noble man to haue in remembrance: And as oportunitie serueth / to put them in experience. And specially them / whiche with belth do ioyne cōmoditie (& as I moughte say) necessitie: considering that he be neuer so noble or valiant / some tyme he is subiecte to perile / or (to speake it more pleasauntly)

scit

ſeruāt to fortune. Touchig ſuche exerciſes/
as many be yſed within the houſe/or in the
ſhadowe/(as is the olde maner of ſpeking)
as deambulations : laborynge with poyſes
made of leadde or other metall/called in la-
tine *Alteres*/ Liſtynge & throwyng the heuy
ſtone or barre/playing at tenyſe/and diuers
ſeblable exerciſes/I will for this tyme paſſe
ouer/exhortyng them/which do vnderſtāde
latine / and do deſire to knowe the cōmodi-
ties of ſondrye exerciſes / to reſorte to the
booke of *Galene*/of the gouernāce of helth/
called in latine *De ſanitate tuenda* : where they
ſhal be in that mater abundantly ſatis fied/
& finde in the readyng moche delectation :
whiche booke is tranſlated in to latine/ won-
derfull eloquently by doctor *Linacre* / late
mooste worthy philition/ to our mooste no-
ble ſoueraigne lorde kynge *Henry the.viij.*
And I wyll nowe only ſpeake of thoſe exer-
ciſes / apt to the furniture of a gentilmānes
perſonage : adaptig his body to hardneſſe/
ſtrēgth/and agilitie : and to helpe therwith
bym ſelfe in perile / whiche may happen in
warres or other neceſſitie.

Exerciſes/wherby ſhulde growe both
recreation and profite. *Lap. xvij.*

The Gouvernour.

Rasslyng is a very good exercise in the begynnynge of youthe/so that it be with one that is equall in strengthe/or some what vnder/ & that the place be softe/that in fallinge

theyr bodies be nat brused.

wrastr
lynge.
Galenus.

There be diuers maners of wrastriges / but the beste / as well for helthe of body / as for exercise of strengthe is: whan layeng mutually their hādes one ouer a nother's necke / with the other hande they holde faste eche other by the arme / and claspynge theyr legges to gether / they inforce them selves with strengthe & agilitie / to throwe downe eche other / whiche is also praysed by Galene. And vndoubtedly it shall be founde profitable in warres / in case that a capitayne shall be constrayned to cope with his aduersary hande to hande / hauyng his weapon broken or losse. Also it hath ben sene / that the waiker persone / by the sleight of wrastrylng / hath ouerthrowen the strengier / almost or he coulde fasten on the other any violent stroke. Also rényng is bothe a good exercise and a laudable solace. It is written of Epaminondas the valiant capitayne of Thebanes / who as well in vertue and pro-
wesse

Rényng.

wesse/ as in lerninge surmounted all noble
me of his tyme: that daily he exercised him
selfe in the mornynge with rennyng and lea-
pyng: in the euening in wrastring: to the in-
tent that likewise in armure he mought the
more strongly/ embracinge his aduersary/
put hym in daunger. And also that in the
chase rennyng & leaping/ he mought either
ouertake his enemye: or beyng pursued/ if
extreme nede required/ escape him. Sem-
blably before him dyd the worthy Achil-
les/ for whyles his shippes laye at rode/ he
suffred nat his people to slomber in ydle-
nesse/ but daily exercised them and him selfe
in rennyng/ wherin he was moste excellent
and passed all other: and therfore Homere
throughout all his warke / calleth hym
swifte foote Achilles. The great Alexander
beyng a childe/ excelled all his companions
in rennyng. wherfore on a tyme/ one deman-
ded of hym/ if he wolde renne at the great
game of Olympus: wherto out of all par-
tes of Grece/ came the moste actise and va-
liant persons to assay maistries: whervnto
Alexander answered in this fourme: I wold
very gladly rene ther/ if I were sure to rene
with kinges: for if I shulde cõtende with a
priuate person/ hauing respect to our bothe
astates/

The Governour.

astates/our victories shulde nat be equall.
Nedes muste rennyng be taken for a lau-
dable exercise/sens one of the mooste noble
capitaynes of all the Romanes / toke his
name of rennyng / and was called Papirius
Cursoz : which is in englishe / Papirius the
Renner. And also the valiant Marius the
Romane / whan he had bene seven. tymes
Consul / and was of the age of foure score
yeres/exercised him selfe dayly amonge the
yonge men of Rome / in suche wyse / that
there resorted people out of ferre partes / to
beholde the strength & agilitie of that olde
Consul / wherin he cōpared with the yonge
and lusty souldiours.

Swym-
myng.

There is an exercise/whiche is right profi-
table in extreme daunger of warres / but by
cause there semeth to be some perile in the
lernyng therof : And also it hath nat bene
of lōge tyme moche ysed / specially amōge
noble men : pchance some reders wyll litle
esteme it : I meane swymmyng. But nat
withstandyng / if they reuolue the imbeci-
litie of our nature/the basardes and daun-
gers of batayle : with the examples/which
shall heraff be showed/they wyll (I doubt
nat) thinke it as necessary to a capitayne or
man of armes / as any that I haue yet re-
herfed.

berfed. The Romanes / who aboue all thinges / had moſte in eſtimation martiall prowelle : they had a large and ſpaciouſe felde without the citie of Rome / whiche was called Marces felde / in latine Campus Martius. wherin the youth of the citie was exerciſed : this felde adioyned to the ryuer of Tyber / to the intent that as well men as children ſhulde waſſhe and refreſſhe them in the water aft their labours / as alſo lerne to ſwymme : And nat men & children only / but alſo the horſes : that by ſuche yſaige they ſhulde more aptely and boldly paſſe ouer great riuers / and be more able to reſiſt or cutte the waues / & not be aſerde of piracies or great ſtormes. For it hath ben often tymes ſene / that by the good ſwimminge of horſes / many men haue ben ſaued / and contrary wiſe / by a timorouſe royle / where the water hath vneth come to his bely / his legges bath ſoltred : wherby many a good and propre man hath periſſhed. what benefite receiued the hole citie of Rome / by the ſwimminge of Oratius Locles : whiche is a noble hiftorie / and worthy to be remembred.

After the Romanes had expelled Tarquine their kyng / as I haue before remembred /

I he

Campus
Martius.

Oratius
Locles.

The Gouvernour.

he desired ayde of Porcena/kyng of Thuscane/a noble and valiant prince/to recover
estiones his realme and dignitie: who with
a great and puissant hoste/besieged the citie
of Rome / and so sodaynely and sharply
assaulted it / that it lacked but litle / that he
ne had entred in to the citie with his host/
ouer the bridge called Sublicius: where en-
countred with hym this Oratius with a
fewe Romanes: And whiles this noble ca-
pitayne beinge alone / with an incredible
strengthe resisted all the hoste of Porcena/
that were on the bridge/he commaunded the
bridge to be broken behynde hym / where
with all the Thuscane theron stadyng fell
in to the great riuer of Tiber / but Oratius
all armed lepte in to the water & swam
to his company / al be it that he was stricken
with many arowes & dartes / & also greuous-
lye wounded. Nat withstandynge by his
noble courage and feate of swymmyng / he
saued the citie of Rome from perpetuall
seruitude / whiche was likely to haue ensu-
ed by the returne of the proude Tarquine.

Julius
Cesar
swym-
myng.

Howe moche profited the feate in swym-
myng to the valiant Julius Cesar: who
at the bataile of Alexandri / on a bridge be-
inge abandoned of his people for the mul-
titude

titude of his enemyes / whiche oppressed them / whan he moughte no lenger sustaine the shotte of dartes and arowes / he boldly lepte in to the see / and diuynge vnder the water / escaped the shotte / and swamme the space of .L.L. pasis to one of his shyppes / drawynge his cote armure with his teethe after hym / that his enemies shulde nat atayne it. And also that it moughte some what defende hym fro theyr arowes : And that more maruaile was / holdynge in his hande aboue the water / certayne lettres / whiche a litle before he had receyued from the Senate.

Before hym Sertorius / who of the spanyardenes was named the seconde Anniball for his prowesse / in the bataile that Scipio faughte agayne the Limbres / whiche inuaded Fraunce / Sertorius when by negligēce of his people / his enemyes preuailed / and put his holte to the warse / he beinge sore wounded / and his horse beinge lost / armed as he was in a gesseron / holdyng in his handes a tergate / and his sworde / he lepte in to the ryuer of Rone / whiche is wonderfull swyfte / and swymmyng agayne the streame / came to his company / nat without greatte wondryng of all his enemies / whiche stode

Sertorius.

J.ij.

and

The Governour.

and behelde hym.

The great kynge Alexander lamented that he had nat lerned to swimme: For in Inde whan he wente agayne the puissaunt kynge Dorus he was constrayned / in folowynge his entrepryse / to conuay his hoste ouer a ryuer of wonderfull greatnesse: than caused he his horse men to gage the water / wherby he firste perceiued that it came to the brestis of the horsis / and in the myddle of the streame / the horsis wente in water to the necke: wherwith the sotemen beinge aserde / none of them durst auecture to passe ouer the ryuer: That perceiuyng Alexander / with a dolorouse maner in this wyse lamented: O howe moste ynhappy am I of all other that haue nat or this tyme lerned to swimme? And therewith he pulled a tergate from one of his souldiours / and castynge it in to the water / standynge on it / with his spere conuaied hym selfe with the streame / and gouernynge the tergate wysely / broughte hym selfe vnto the other side of the water: wherof his people beinge abashed / some assayed to swimme / some holdynge faste by the horses / other by speares / and other lyke weapōs / many vpon fardels & trusses / gate ouer the ryuer: in so moche

as nothinge was perished sauue a litle baggage / and of that no great quantitie lost.

what vtilitie was shewed to be in swymmyng at the firste warres / whiche the Romanes had agayne the Carthaginensis: it happened a bataile to be on the see betwene them / where they of Carthage / beinge vanquished / wolde haue sette vp their sailes to haue fledde / but that perceiuyng diuers yonge Romanes / they threwe them selves in to the see / & swymmyng vnto the shippes / they enforced theyr enemies to stryke on lande / and there assaulted them so asprely / that the capitaine of the Romanes / called Luctatius / mought easily take them.

Nowe behold what excellent comoditie is in the seate of swymmyng / sens no kyng / be he neuer so puissaunt or pfecte in the experience of warres / may assure hym selfe from the necessities / whiche fortune sowethe amonge men that be mortall. And sens on the helth and saulfe garde of a noble capytayne / often tymes dependeth the weale of a realme / nothing shulde be kepte from his knowlege / wherby his persone may be in euery ieoperdie preserved.

Amonge these exercises / it shall be conuenient to lerne to handle sondrye waipons /

J. iij.

speci.

Defence
with waipons.

The Gouernour.

ſpecially the ſworde and the batayle are:
whiche be for a noble man moſte cōuenient.

Rydyng
and vaun-
tyng of
houſe.

But the moſte honorable exerciſe in myne
opinion/and that beſemeth the aſtate of e-
uery noble perſone/is to ryde ſuerly & clene/
on a great horſe and a roughe / whiche yn-
doubtedly nat onely importeth a maiestie &
dredde to inferiour perſones/beholding him
aboue the cōmon courſe of other men/daū-
tyng a fierce and cruell beaſte/but alſo is no
litle ſocour/as well in purſuete of enemies &
cōfoundyng them/as in eſcapyng imminent
daunger / whā wiſedome therto exhorteth.
Alſo a ſtronge and hardy horſe dothe ſome
tyme more damage vnder his maiſter/than
he with al his waipon: and alſo ſetteth for-
warde the ſtroke / and cauſethe it to lighte
with more violence.

Buce-
phal.

Bucephal / the horſe of great kyng Alex-
ander/who ſuffred none on his backe ſaulke
onely his maiſter/at the bataile of Thebes
beinge ſore wounded / wolde nat ſuffre the
kinge to departe frō hym to a nother horſe/
but perſiſtyng in his furioſe courage/won-
derfully cōtinued out the bataile / with his
fete & tethe betyng downe & deſtroyēge ma-
ny enemies. And many ſēblable maruailes
of his ſtrength he ſhewed, wherfore Alex-
ander/

ander / after the horse was slayne / made in remembrance of hym a citie in the coutray of India / and called it Bucephal in perpetual memorie of so worthy a horse : which in his lyfe had so well serued hym.

what wonderfull enterprises dyd Julius Cesar achieue by the helpe of his horse ? whiche nat onely dyd excell all other horsis in fiercenesse and swyfte rennyng / but also was in some parte discrepant in figure from other horsis / hauing his fore hooues like to the secte of a man. And in that figure Plinius writeth / that he sawe hym kerued before the temple of Venus. Other remembrance there is of diuers horsis / by whose monstrous power / men dyd exploite incredible affaires : but by cause the reporte of them contayneth thinges impossible / and is nat writen by any approued autour ; I will nat in this place reherce them : sauynge that it is yet supposed / that the castell of Arundell in Sussex / was made by one Beauuizerle of South hamton / for a monument of his horse called Arundell : whiche in ferre contrayes had saued his maister fro many periles.

Nowe considerynge the vtilitie in rydynge greatte horses / hit shall be necessary (as I haue sayd) that a gentilman

J.iiiij.

do

Arundell

The Governour.

do lerne to ride a great & fierce horse whiles
he is tender and the brawnes and sinewes of
his thighes nat fully consolidate.

There is also a ryght good exercise/whiche
is also expedient to lerne: whiche is named
the vauntinge of a horse: that is to lepe on
him at euery side without stiroppe or other
helpe/specially whiles the horse is goynge.
And beinge therin experte/than armed at
all poyntes to assay the same/the comoditie
wherof is so manifest/that I nede no fur-
ther to declare it.

The auncient huntynge of Greekes
and Romanes. Cha. xviij.



Ut nowe wyll I procce to
write of exercises/whiche be
nat vtterly reprovod of no-
ble auctours/if they be vsed
with oportunitie and in mea-
sure / I meane huntynge / hauking and dai-
syng. In huntynge may be an imitation of
batayle / if it be suche as was vsed amonge
them of Persia: wherof Xenophon/the no-
ble and moste eloquent philosopher / ma-
keth a dilectable mention/ in his booke cal-
led the doctrine of Cyrus: and also maketh
a no-

a nother speciall booke/contayning the hole discipline of the auncient huntynge of the Grekes: and in that fourme beyng vsed/ it is a laudable exercise: of the whiche I wyll nowe somewhat write.

Cirus and other auncient kynges of Persia (as Xenophon writeth) vsed this manner in all their huntynge. First where as it semeth/there was in the realme of Persia but one citie/whiche as I suppose was called Persepolis/ there were the children of the Persians from their infancie vnto the age of seuentene yeres / brought vp in the lernyng of iustice and temperance/ and also to obserue continence in meate and drinke: in so moche/that whyder so euer they wēt/ they toke with them for their sustenance but onely breed and herbes / called Kersis/ in latine Nasturtium: and for their drinke / a dissh to take water out of the ryuers as they passed. Also they lerned to shote and to caste the darte or iauelyn. whan they came to the age of. xvij. yeres/ they were lodged in the palaises that were there ordained for the kyng & his nobles/ whiche was as well for the sauegarde of the citie/ as for the example of temperance that they dayly had at their eyes gyuen to them by

The huntynge of Persians.

Xenophō
pedia Cy
ri. li. i.

The Governour.

the nobles: whiche also mought be called
Peeres / by the signification of the greeke
worde / wherein they were called *Omofimi*.
More over they were accustomed to ryse
alway in the first spring of the day / and pa-
ciently to sustayne alwaye bothe colde and
heate: And the kyng dyd se them exercised
in goynge and also in rennyng. And whan
he intended in his owne persone to hunte/
whiche he dyd comenly every moneth / he
toke with him the one halfe of the compa-
ny of yonge men / that were in the palaises.
Than toke every man with him his bowe
and quiuer with arowes / his sworde or
hache of steele / a lytell tergate / & two dar-
tes. The bowe and arowes serued to pursue
beestes that were swyfte: and the dartes to
assayle them & all other beestes. And whan
their courage was chaufed / or that by fierse-
nesse of the beest they were in daunger / than
force constrayned them to stryke with the
sworde / or hache: and to haue good eye at
the violent assaulte of the beest / and to de-
fende them if nede were with their tergates /
wherin they accounted to be the truest and
moste certayne meditation of warres. And
to this butyng the kyng dyd conducte the:
and he him selfe first bunted suche beestes
as he

as he hapned to encounter. And whan he
had taken his pleasure/ he than with moſte
diligence dyd ſette other forwarde / behol-
dyng who hunted valiauntly / and refour-
myng them whom he ſawe negligent or
ſlouthfull. But er they went forth to this
huntyng / they dynd competently: and du-
ryng their huntyng they dynd no more / for
if for any occaſion their huntyng continued
aboue one daye / they toke the ſayd dyner
for their ſouper / and the next daye / if they
kylled no game / they hunted vntyll ſouper
tyme / accountyng thoſe two dayes but for
one. And if they toke any thyng / they ete it
at their ſouper with ioye and pleaſure. If
nothyng were kylled / they ete onely breed
and Kerſis / as I byfore reherſed / ⁊ dranke
thereto water. And if any man wil diſpraiſe
this diete / lette him thinke what pleaſure
there is in breed to him that is hungry: and
what dilectation is in drinkyng water / to
him that is thurſty. Surely this maner of
huntyng maye be called a neceſſary ſolace
and paſtyme / for therein is the very imita-
tion of batayle / for nat onely it dothe ſhewe
the courage ⁊ ſtrength as well of the horſe
as of him that rydeth / trauersyng ouer
mountaynes and valeys / encountringe and
ouer

The Gouernour.

ouerthrowyng great and mighty beestes:
but also it increaseth in them bothe agilitie
and quicknesse / also sleight and policie to
fynde suche passages & straytes / where they
may preuēt or intrappe their enemies. Also
by continuaūce therin / they shall easily su-
stayne trauaile in warres / hunger & thurst /
colde and heate. Hytherto be the wordes of
Xenophon / althoughe I haue nat set them
in lyke order as he wzate them.

The hun-
tyng of
the grekes.

The chiefe hunting of the valiaunt Grekes
was at the lyon / the lybarde / the tigre / the
wilde swyne / and the beare / and somtyme
the wolfe and the harte. Theseus / whiche
was companyon to Hercules / attayned the
greatest parte of his renome for fightyng
with the great boze / whiche the Grekes
called p̄s̄era / that wasted and consumed the
feldes of a great countray.

Meleager likewise for sleying of the great
boze in Calidonia / whiche in greatnesse and
fiercenesse / exceded all other bozes: and had
slayne many noble and valiaunt persones.

The great Alexander / in tymes vacaunt
from bataile / delyted in that maner hun-
tinge. On a tyme he faughte alone with a
lyon wonderfull greatte and fierce / beinge
present amonge other straungers / the am-
bassa.

bassadour of Lacedemonia: and after longe trauaile / with incredible might / he ouerthrewe the lyon / and slewe him: wherat the said ambassadour / wondring meruaylously sayde to the kinge: I wolde to god (noble prince) ye shulde fight with a lyon for some great empire. By whiche wordes it semed that he nothing approued the valiauntnesse of a prince by fighting with a wylde beest / wherin moche more was aduentured / than mought be by the victorie gotten.

Al be it Pompei / Sertorius / & diuers other noble Romanes / whan they were in Numidia / Libia / & suche other countrayes / which now be called Barbary & Morisco / in the vacation season from warres / they hunted lions / liberdes / & suche other bestis / fierce and sauage: to thentent therby to exercise them selves & their souldiours. But all myghty god be thanked / in this realme be no suche cruel bestis to be pursued. Not withstanding in the huntyng of redde dere and falowe / mought be a great parte of seable exercise / vsed by noble men / specially in forestis / which be spacious: if they wold vse but a fewe nombre of houndes / onely to harborowe or rouse the game: and by their yoinyng to gyue knowlege / whiche way it flecth:

The hun-
tyng of
the Ro-
manes.

The Gouernour.

fleeth : the remenant of the disporte to be in pursuyng with iauelyns and other waipōs/ in maner of warre. And to them/whiche in this hunting do shewe moste prowesse and actyuytie : a garlande or some other lyke token / to be gyuen in signe of victorie/and with a ioyfull maner to be broughte in the presence of him that is chiefe in the company : there to receiue condigne prayse for their good endeouour. I dispraise nat the huntynge of the foxe with rennyng houndes : but it is nat to be compared to the other hunting in comoditie of exercise. Therefore it wolde be ysed in the deepe wynter/ whan the other game is vnseasonable.

Huntynge of the hare with greboundes/is a righte good solace for men that be studious : or thē to whom nature hath nat gyue personage or courage apte for the warres. And also for gētilwomē/which fere neither sone nor wynde for appairing their beautie. And perauētūre they shall be there at lasse idell / than they shulde be at home in their chambres.

Kylling of dere with bowes or grebūdes/serueth well for the pottle(as is the cōmune saynge)and therefore it muste of necessitie be some tyme ysed. But it contayneth therein

no commendable solace or exercise in compariso
to the other fourme of hunting if it be dili-
gently perceiued.

As for haukyng / I can finde no notable
remembrance / that it was vsed of auncient
tyme amonge noble princes. I call auncient
tyme before a thousande yeres passed / sens
whiche tyme vertue and noblenesse hath
rather decayed than increased. Nor I
coule neuer knowe who founde firste that
disporte.

Plinius makethe mention in his .viij. booke
of the historie of nature / that in the partes
of grece called Thracia / mé and haukes / as
it were by a confederacie / toke byrdes to ge-
ther in this wyse: The men spráge the bir-
des out of the busshe / and the haukes so-
rynge ouer them / bete them downe: so that
the men mought easily take them. And thā
dyd the mé departe equally the praye with
the faukons: whiche beinge well serued / eft
sones and of a custome repayred to suche
places / where beinge a losse / they perceyued
men to that purpose assembled. By which
reherfall of Plinius / we may coniecte / that
frō Thracia came this disporte of hauking.
And I doubt nat but many other / as wel as
I haue sene a semblable experience of wilde
ho-

The Governour.

hobies / whiche in some countrayes that be
champaine/wyll soze and lie a losse / houer-
ringe ouer larkes and quailles / ⁊ kepe them
downe on the grounde/whiles they / whiche
awayte on the praye do take them. But in
what wise/or where so euer the beginninge
of hauking was/suerly it is a right delecta-
ble solace / though the therof cometh nat so
moche vtilitie (concerning exercise) as there
dothe of huntinge. But I wolde our fau-
kons mought be satisfied with the diuision
of their pray/as the faukōs of Tracia were/
that they neded nat to deuour and cōsume
the hennes of this realme/in suche nombre/
that ynneth it be shortly considred / ⁊ that
faukōs be brought to a more homely diete/
it is right likely that within a shorte space
of yeres / our familiar pultrie shall be as
scarce/as be nowe partriche and fesaunt. I
speake nat this in dispraise of the faukons :
but of them whiche kepeth them like cok-
nayes. The meane gentilmen ⁊ honest hous-
holders/whiche care for the gentill enter-
tainement of their frendes/do finde in their
dislike/that I saye trouth/and noble men
shall right shortly espie it/whan they come
sodainly to their frēdes house/ynpuruaied
for lacke of longe warning.

But

But nowe to retourne to my purpose: vndoubtedly haukyng measurably vsed and for a passetyme / gyueth to a man good appetite to his souper. And at the leest waye withdraweth hym from other daliance or disportis dishonest / and to body and soule perchance pernicious.

Nowe I purpose to declare somthyng concerning daunsing: wherin is merite of prayse & dispraise / as I shall expsse it in suche forme / as I trust the reder shal finde therein a rare and singuler pleasure / with also good lerning in thinges nat yet comunely knowen in our vulgare. which if it be radde of hym that hath good opportunitie and quiete silence / I doubt nat / but he shal take therby suche comoditie / as he loked nat to haue founden in that exercise / whiche of the more parte of sadde men is so litle esteemed.

That all daunsinge is nat to be
reproued. Cap. xix.



I am nat of that opinion / that all daunsinge generallye is repugnāt vnto vertue: al though some psones excellently lerned / specially diuines / so do affirme

K

it:

The Governour.

it : whiche alwaye haue in theyr mouthes
(whā they come in to the pulpet) the sayeng
of the noble doctor sainte Augustine: That
better it were to delue or to go to ploughe
on the sonday than to daunse : which mou-
ghte be spoken of that kynde of daunsinge/
whiche was vsed in the tyme of sainte Au-
gustine : whan euery thing with the empire
of Rome declined from their pfection : and
the olde maner of daunsinge was forgotten/
and none remayned / but that whiche was
lasciuiose / and corrupted the myndes of
them that daunsed / and prouoked sinne/as
seblably some do at this day. Also at that
tyme Idolatry was nat clerely extincte/but
diuers fragmētes therof remained in euery
region. And perchance solempne daunsis/
whiche were celebrate vnto the paynyms
false goddes / were yet continued : for as
moche as the pure religion of Christe was
nat in all places cōsolidate : and the pastors
⁊ curates dyd wyne at suche recreations/
fearynge that if they shulde hastily haue re-
meued it / ⁊ induced sodaynely the seueritie
of goddis lawes/they shulde stere the peo-
ple therby to a generall sedition / to the im-
minent daunger and subuersion of Christis
hole religion/late sowne amonge them/and
nat

nat yet sufficiētly rooted. But the wyse and discrete doctor sainte Augustine vsinge the arte of an oratour/wherin he was right excellent/omitting all rigorous menace or terrour / dissuaded them by the moste easiste way / from that maner ceremony belonging to idolatrie : preferring before it bodily occupation / therby aggrauatyng the offence to god that was in that ceremonie: sens occupation / which is necessary for mānes sustenance / & in due tymes vertuous / is nat withstanding prohibited to be vsed on the sondays. And yet in these wordes of this noble doctor / is nat so generall dispraise to all daunsinge as some men do suppose. And that for two causis. Firste in his cōparison he preferreth nat before daūsing / or ioyneth thereto any viciouse exercise / but annecteth it with tillynge and diggyng of the erthe / whiche be labours incident to mannes lyuynge / and in them is contained nothyng that is vicious. wherfore the preeminence therof aboue daunsing / qualifieng the offēce they beinge done out of due tyme / that is to say in an holy day / concludeth nat daunsinge to be at all tymes / and in euery maner vnlausfull or vicious : considerynge that in certayne casis of extreme necessitie / menne

K.ij.

mought

The Gonerour.

mought bothe ploughe and delue without
doinge to god any offece. Also it f hall seme
to them/that seriously do examine the said
wordes/that therin/saincte Augustine doth
nat prohibite daunsinge so generally as it is
taken: but onely suche daunsis/whiche (as
I late saide) were superstitious/and containe
in them a spice of idolatrie: or els dyd
with vnclene motions or countinances irritate
the myndes of the daücers to venereall
lustes. wherby fornication & auoutrie were
daily increased. Also in those daüces were
enterlased dities of waton loue or ribaudry/
with frequent remembrance of the moste vile
idolis/Venus and Bacchus/as it were that
the daüce were to their honour & memorie/
whiche most of all abhorred from Christes
religion/sauerynge the auncient error or
pagany sme.

I wolde to god those names were nat at
this day vsed in balades and ditties / in the
courtes of princes and noble men: where
many good wittes be corrupted with sem-
blable fantasies / whiche in better wise em-
ployed/mought haue bene more necessarye
to the publike weale/and their princes ho-
nour. But nowe wyll I leue this seriousse
mater to diuines / to persuaide or dissuade
here

herein accordinge to their offices. And sens in myn opinion saint Augustine/that blessed clerke / reprocueth nat so generally all daunsing/but that I may lausfully reherce some kynde therof/whiche may be necessary/and also comendable/takyng it for an exercise: I shall nowe procede to speake of the firste begynnyng therof/ & in howe great estimation it was had in diuers regions.

Of the firste begynnyng of daunsing and the olde estimation therof. Cap.xx.



Here be sondry opiniōs of the originall begynnyng of daunsing. The poetes do faine that whan Saturne/which deuoured diuers his children/ and semblably wolde haue done with Jupiter/ Rhea the mother of Jupiter deuised/ that Curetes (whiche were men of armes in that countray) shuld daunse in armour/plainge with their swordes and sheldes/ in suche fourme/as by that newe and pleasat deuise/ they shulde assuage the melancoly of Saturne / and in the meane tyme/Jupiter was conuaied in to Phrygia/ where Saturne also persuing hym/ Rhea semblably taught the

Curetes

R. iij.

people

The Governour.

Chorist
bantes.

people there called *Copisantes* / to daunce in
a nother fourme: wherwith Saturne was
eftsones demulced and appaysed: whiche
fable hath a resemblaunce to the historie of
the bible / in the first booke of kyngs: where it
is remembred / that Saule (whom god chase
from a keper of asses / to be kyuge of iewes /
(who in stature excelled / and was aboue all
other men by the heed) declining from the
lawes and preceptes of god / was possessed
of an iuell spirite / whiche often tymes tur-
mented and vexed him: and other remedie
founde he none / but that David / whiche af-
ter hym was kyng / beinge at that tyme a
propre childe / and playinge swetelye on a
harpe / with his pleasant & pfect harmonie /
reduced his mide in to his pristinate estate:
and duryng the tyme that he played / the
spirite cessed to vere him: which I suppose
happed nat only of the efficacie of musike /
(all be it therin is moche power / as well in
repressing as exciting naturall affectes) but
also of the vertue ingenerate in the childe
David / that played / whom god also had
predestinate to be a great kyng / and a great
prophete: and for the soueraigne gyftes of
grace and of nature / that he was endowed
with. All mightye god sayde of him / that
be

he had founde a man after his harte and pleasure. But nowe to retourne to speake of daunsinge.

Some interpretours of poetj do imagine that Proteus/who is supposed to haue turned him selfe in to sondry figures / as some tyme to shewe him selfe like a serpent / some tyme like a lyon / other whiles like water / a notber time like the flame of fire: signifieth to be none other / but a deliuer & crafty daanser / which in his daunse coulde imagine the inflexions of the serpente / the softe and delectable flowynge of the water / the swiftnes and mounting of the fire / the fierce rage of the lyon / the violence & furie of the libarde. which exposition is nat to be dispraised / ses it discordeth nat from reason. But one opinion there is / whiche I wyll reherce / more for the mery fantasie that therein is contained / than for any faithe or credite that is to be giuen therto.

Proteus.

Ouer Syracusis (a great and auncient citie in Sicile) there raigned a cruel tirant called Hiero: whiche by horrible tyrannies & oppressions / brought him selfe in to the indignation & hatered of all his people / whiche he perceiuing / lest by mutuall communication they shulde conspire agayne hym any re-

Hiero the
kynge of
Sicile.

R.iiij.

bellion.

The Governour.

bellion / he prohibited all men vnder terrible menaces / that no man or woman shulde speke vnto a nother: but in stede of wordes / they shulde vse in their necessarye affaires / countenances / tokens / and mouinges / with their feete / handes / and eien / whiche for necessite firste vsed / at the laste grewe to a perfecte and delectable daunsinge. And Hiero / nat withstanding his foliss he curiositie / at the laste was slayne of his people moste miserably. But all though this historie were true: yet was nat daunsing at this time first begon / for Orpheus and Muscus / the most auncient of poetes / & also Homere / whiche were longe afore Hiero / do make mention of daunsinge. And in Delus / whiche was the moste auncient temple of Apollo / no solemnitie was done without daunsinge.

Also in Inde / where the people honoureth the sonne / they assemble to gether / and whā the sōne first appereth / ioyned all in a daūse / they salute him / supposinge that for as moche as he moueth without sensible noyse / it pleseth him best to be like wise saluted / that is to say with a pleasant motion and silence. The interpretours of Plato do thinke that the wonderfull and incomprehensible ordre of the celestiall bodies / I meane sterres and
pla.

planettes / and their motions harmonically /
gaue to them / that intentifly / & by the deepe
serche of raison beholde their cours / in the
sondrie diuersities of nombre and tyme / a
fourme of imitation of a seblable motion :
whiche they called daunsinge or salution.
wherfore the more nere they approched to
that temperance / and subtile modulation /
of the saide superiour bodies / the more per-
fecte and comendable is their daunsinge :
whiche is moste like to the trouth of any
opinion that I haue hitherto founden.

Other fables there be / whiche I omitte
for this present time : And now I will ex-
presse in what estimation daunsing was had
in the auncient time : And also sondry four-
mes of daunsinge : nat all / but suche as had
in them a semblance of vertue or kunnyng.

whan the arke of god (wherin was put the
tables of the comaundementes / the yerde /
wherwith Moyses deuided the redde see / &
dyd the miracles in the preséce of Pharaos /
kyng of Egypte : also a parte of manna /
wherwith the childre of Israel were fedde
fourtie yeres in deserte) was recouered of
the Philisties / and broughte vnto the citie
of Gaba : the holy kyng Dauid / wearing
on him a linen surplesse / daunsed before the

Archa fe-
deris.

Kyng
Dauid
daunsing
openly.

R.v.

saide

The Gouernour.

saide arke/ folowing him a great nombre of instrumentes of musike: wherat his wyfe Michol/ the daughter of kyng Saule/ disdainned and scorned him: wherwith (as holy scripture saith) all mighty god was moche displeased. And David not cessinge daūsed ioyously throughe the citie / in that maner honouringe that solemne feast / whiche amonge the iewes was one of the chiefe and principall: wherwith god was more pleased/ than withall the other obseruāces that than were done vnto hym at that tyme.

I wyll nat trouble the reders with the innumerable ceremonies of the gentiles/ whiche were cōprehended in daunsinges/ sens they ought to be noumbred amonge superstitions: But I wyll declare/ howe wise mē and valiant capitaines imbraced daunsinge for a soueraigne and profitable exercise.

Licurgus/ that gaue first lawes to the Lacedemones (a people in Grece) ordayned/ that the children there shulde be taughte as diligētly to daūse in armure/ as to fight. And that in time of warres / they shulde meue them in bataile againe their enemies/ in fourme and maner of daunsinge.

Semblably the olde inhabitantes of Ethiopia/ at the ioyninge of their batailes / and
whan

whan the trumpettes & other instrumentes
souned they daunce: and in stede of a quier/
they haue their dartes set about their bed-
des / like to rayes or bemes of the sonne:
wherwith they beleue that they put their
enemies in feare. Also it was nat lefull for
any of them to cast any darte at his enemye
but daunsing. And nat only this rude peo-
ple esteemed so moche daunsing: but also the
moste noble of the grekes / whiche for their
excellencie in prowesse and wisdom / were
called halfe goddes / As Achilles / and his
sonne Pirrhus / and diuers other. wherfore
Homere amonge the highe benefites that
god gyueth to man / he reciteth daunsing.
For he saith in the firste booke of Iliados:

God graunteth to some man prowesse martiall

To a nother daunsing / with songe armonicall.

Suppose ye that the Romanes / whiche in
grauntie of maners passed the Grekes / had
nat great pleasure in daunsing: Dyd nat
Romulus / the firste kinge of Romanes / and
builder of the citie of Rome / ordaine cer-
taine prestes & ministers to the god Mars /
(whome he aduanted to be his father?)
which prest / for as moche as certaine times
they daused aboute the citie with tergates /
that they imagined to falle from heuē / were
called

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called in latine *Satij*: which in to engliff be may be translated daunfers: who cōtinued so longe time in reuerence amonge the Romanes / that vnto the tyme that they were christned / the noble men and princes children there / vsinge moche diligence and sute / couayted to be of the college of the saide daunfers.

More over the emperours that were moste noble / delited in daunsyng / perceyuing ther in to be a perfecte measure / whiche maye be called modulation: wherin some daunfers of olde tyme so wonderfully excelled / that they wolde plainly expresse in daunsyng / without any wordes or dittie / histories with the hole circumstaunce of affaires / in them cōtayned: wherof I shall reberce two maruailouse experiences. At Rome in the tyme of Nero / there was a philosopher called Demetrius: whiche was of that secte / that for as moche as they abandoned all shamfastnes in their wordes & actes / they were called *Cinici*: in engliff be doggiff be: This Demetrius often reproving daūsing / wolde saye / that there was nothing therein of any importaunce / and that it was none other but a counterfayting with the feete & handes / of the armonie that was shewed before

fore in the rebecke/ shalme/ or other instrument: and that the motions were but vaine and seperate from all vnderstanding/ and of no purpose or efficacie. wherof berynge a famous daunser/ and one as it semed/ that was nat without good lernyng/ and had in remembraunce many histories/ he came to Demetrius & saide vnto him: Sire I humbly desire you refuse nat to do me that honestie with your presence/ in beholding me daunce/ whiche ye shall seme do without soun of any instrumēt. And than if it shall seme to you worthy dispraise/ vtterly banish be and confounde my science. wherunto Demetrius graūted. The yonge man daunced the aduoutry of Mars and Venus/ and therin expressed howe Vulcane/ husbonde to Venus/ therof beyng aduertised by the sonne/ layde snares for his wife and Mars: also howe they were wounden and tyed in Vulcanes nette: more ouer howe all the goddes came to the spectacle: finally howe Venus all as bamed and blussing/ ferefully desired her louer Mars to delyuer her from that perill/ and the residue containned in the fable: whiche he dyd with so subtile and crafty gesture/ with suche perspicuitie and declaration of euery acte in the mater/ (whiche

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(whiche of all thing is moſte difficile) with ſuche a grace and beautie/also with a witte ſo wonderfull and pleaſaunt / that Demetrius/as it ſemed/therat reioyſing & delitig/cried with a loude voice: O man/ I do nat only ſe/ but alſo here what thou doest: And it ſemeth alſo to me/ that with thy handes thou ſpekeſt. whiche ſayinge was cōfirmed by all them that were at that tyme preſent.

The ſame yonge man ſonge and daūſed on a tyme before the emperour Nero / whan there was alſo preſent a ſtraunge kynge/ whiche vnderſtode none other langage but of his owne countray: yet nat withſtandig the man daūſed ſo aptcly and playnely/as his cuſtome was / that the ſtraunge kynge/ althoughe he percciued nat what he ſaid/ yet he vnderſtode euery dele of the mater. And whā he had taken his leue of the emperour to departe/the emperour offered to gyue to hym any thyng that he thoughte mought be to his cōmoditie. ye may (ſayd the kynge) bounteouſely rewarde me/ if ye lende me the yonge mā that daūſed before your maieſtie. Nero wondring and requiring of him/why he ſo importunately deſired the daūſer/or what cōmodite the daūſer mought be vnto him. Sir ſaid the king/
I haue

I haue diuers confines & neighbours / that
be of sondry languages and maners / wher-
fore I haue often tymes nede of many in-
terpretours. wherfore if I had this man
with me : and I shulde haue any thing to do
with my neighbours / he wolde so with his
facion & gesture expresse euery thinge to me /
& teche them to do the same / that fro hence-
forth I shulde nat haue nede of any inter-
pretour. Also the auncient philosophers co-
mended daunsing : in so moche as Socrates /
the wysest of all the grekes in his time / and
from whom all the sectes of philosophers /
as from a fountaine were deriuied / was nat
asbamed to account daunsinge amonge the
seriouse disciplines / for the commendable
beautie / for the apte and proportionate me-
uinge / and for the craftie disposition and fa-
cionyng of the body. It is to be considered /
that in the saide auncient tyme / there were
diuers maners of daunsing / whiche varied
in the names / lyke wyse as they dyd in tu-
nes of the instrument / as seblably we haue
at this daye. But those names / some were
generall / some were speciall : the generall
names were gyue of the vniuersall fourme
of daunsinge / wherby was represented the
qualities or conditions of sondry astates :

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as the maiestie of princes was shewed in
that daunse / whiche was named *Eumelia* /
and belöged to tragedies: dissolute motiöes /
and wanton countenaunces / in that whiche
was called *Lozdas* / and pertained to come-
dies: wherin mä of base hauiour only daun-
sed. Also the fourme of bataile & fightyng
in armure / was expressed in those daunsis /
which were called *Enopliae*. Also there was
a kynde of daunsinge called *Formus* / of all
the other moste lyke to that / whiche is at
this time vsed: wherin daunsed yonge men
and maidens / the man expressing in his
motion and countenance / fortitude and ma-
gnanimitie / apt for the warres: the maiden
moderation and shamefastnes / whiche re-
presented a pleasant connerion of fortitude
and téperance. In stede of these we haue
nowe base daunsis / barginettes / pauions /
turgions / and roundes. And as for the spe-
ciall names / they were taken as they be
nowe / either of the names of the firste in-
uentors / or of the measure and nöbre that
they do cõtaine: or of the firste wordes of
the dittie / whiche the songe cõprebendeth
wherof the daunse was made. In euery of
the said daunsis / there was a concinnitie of
meyng the foote and body / expressing some
plea

pleasaunt or profitable affectes or motions
of the mynde.

Dere a man may bebolde / what artifice &
crafte there was in thaũcient tyme in daun-
singe : whiche at this day no man can ima-
gine or coniecte. But if men wolde nowe
applie the firste parte of their youthe / that
is to say from seuen yeres to twétie / effectū-
elly in the sciences liberall / and knowlege of
histories / they shulde reuiue the auncient
fourme as well of daunsing / as of other ex-
ercises. wherof they mought take nat only
pleasure / but also profite and cōmoditie.

wherfore in the good ordre of daunsinge
a man and a woman daunseth
to gether. Cap. xxi.



It is diligently to be noted that
the associatinge of man & wo-
man in daunsing / they both ob-
seruinge one nombre and tyme
in their meuynges / was nat be-
gonne without a speciall consideration / as
well for the necessarye coniunction of those
two persones / as for the intimation of son-
dry vertues : whiche be by thē represēted.
And for as moche as by the association of
2 a man

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a man and a woman in daunsinge may be signified matrimonie/ I coulde in declarynge the dignitie & comoditie of that sacrament/ make intiere volumes : if it were nat so commonly knowne to all men / that almoste every frere lymitour carieth it writen in his bosome. wherfore lest in repetyng a thinge so frequent and comune/my boke shulde be as fastidious or fulsome to the reders / as suche marchaunt preachours be nowe to their custumers : I wyll reuerently take my leue of diuines. And for my parte I wyll endeouour my selfe to assēble out of the bookes of aūcient poety & philosophers/mater as well apte to my purpose/as also newe/or at the lest waies infrequēt or seldome herde of them / that haue nat radde very many autours in greke and latine.

But nowe to my purpose. In euery daūse of a moste auncient custome/there daunseth to gether a man and a womā/ holding eche other by the bande or the arme : whiche betokeneth concorde. Nowe it behouethe the daunfers & also the beholders of them/ to knowe all qualities incidēt to a man/and also all qualities to a woman lyke wyse appertaynyng.

A man in his naturall perfection is fierce/
hardy/

hardy/stronge in opinion/couaitous of glorie/desirous of knowlege/appetiting by generation to brynge forth his semblable. The good nature of a womā is to be milde/timorous/tractable/benigne/of sure remembrance / and shamesfast/diuers other qualities of eche of them mought be founde out/but these be moſte apparaunt/and for this time sufficient.

wherefore whan we beholde a man and a woman daunsinge to gether / let vs suppose there to be a concorde of all the saide qualities/beinge ioyned to gether/as I haue set them in ordre. And the meuing of the man wolde be more vehement / of the woman more delicate/and with lasse aduaucing of the body/signifienge the courage & strenthe that oughte to be in a man / and the pleasāte sobrenesse that shulde be in a woman. And in this wise fierſenesse/ ioyned with mildenesse/ maketh Seueritie: Audacitie with timerositie maketh Magnanimitie: wilfull opinion and Tractabilitie (which is to be shortly psuaded and meued) makethe Conſtance a vertue: Couaitise of glorie adourned with benignitie/ cauſeth honour: desire of knowlege/with sure remembrance/pcureth Sapience: Shamesfastnes ioyned to Appetite of generation maketh Co-

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finence: whiche is a meane betwene Chastitie and inordinate luste. These qualities / in this wise beinge knitte to gether / and signified in the personages of man and woman daunsing / do expresse or sette out the figure of very nobilitie: whiche in the higher estate it is contained / the more excellent is the vertue in estimation.

Dance may be an introduction vnto the firste morall vertue called prudence. Cap.xxij.



AS I haue all redye affirmed / the principall cause of this my litle enterprise is to declare an induction or meane / howe children of gentill nature or disposition may be trayned in to the way of vertue with a pleasant facilitie. And for as moche as it is very expedient / that there be mixte with studie some honest & moderate disporte / or at the least way recreation / to re-
cōsorte and quicken the vitall spirites / leste they longe trauallyng or beinge moche occupied in contemplation or remembrance of thinges graue and seriouse / moughte happen to be fatigate / or perchance oppressed.
And

And therfore Tulli/who vneth founde euer Off. i.
 any tyme vacaunt from studie / permitteth
 in his firste booke of offices / that men maye
 vse play and disporte : yet nat withstandinge
 in suche wyse as they do vse slepe & other
 maner of quiete / whā they haue sufficiētly
 disposed earnest maters and of waighthy im-
 portaunce.

Nowe by cause there is no passe tyme to
 be cōpared to that/wherin may be founden
 both recreation and meditation of vertue :
 I haue amōge all honest passe times/wher-
 in is exercise of the body / noted daunsinge
 to be of an excellent vtilitie/cōprehendinge
 in it wonderfull figures/or as the grekes do
 calle them Ideae/of vertues and noble qua-
 lities : and specially of the cōmodious ver-
 tue called prudēce/whom Tulli defineth to
 be the knowlege of thinges/whiche oughte Ci. off. i.
 to be desired & folowed : and also of them/
 whiche ought to be fledde frō or exchewed.
 And it is named of Aristotel the mother of
 vertues : of other philosophers it is called
 the capitayne or maistres of vertues : of
 some the house wyse / for as moche as by
 her diligence she doth inuestigate & prepare
 places apt and cōuenient / where other ver-
 tues shall execute their powers or offices.

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Proverb.
xxvii.

wherfore as Salomon saith/like as in water be shewed the visages of them that behold it / so vnto men that be prudent / the secretes of mennes hartes be openly discovered. This vertue beinge so comodious to man / and as it were the porche of the noble palaice of mannes reason/wherby all other vertues shall entre / it semeth to me right expedient / that as sone as oportunitie may be founden / a childe or yonge man be therto induced. And by cause that the studie of vertue is tedious for the more parte to them that do florisshe in yonge yeres : I haue deuised howe in the fourme of daunsinge nowe late vsed in this realme amonge gentilmen / the hole description of this vertue prudence may be founden out and well perceyued / as well by the daunsers as by them whiche standinge by / wyll be diligent beholders and markers / hauyng first myne instructiō suerly grauen in the table of their remembrance. wherfore all they that haue their courage stered towarde very honour or perfecte nobilitie : let them approche to this passe tyme / and either them selves prepare them to daunce / or els at the leste way beholde with watching eien / other that can daunce truely / kepyng iuste measure and tyme.

Also perceiuinge the unprofitable weedes
apperynge / whiche wyll anoye his corne or
herbes : forthe with he wedeth them cleane
out of his grounde / & wyll nat suffre them
to growe or encrease. Semblably it is the
parte of a wyse man to forsee and provide/
that either in suche thinges as he hath ac-
quired by his studie or diligence/or in suche
affaires as he hath in hande / he be nat in-
domaged or empeched by his aduersaries.
In lyke maner a gouernour of a publike
weale ought to pvide as well by menaces/
as by sharpe and terrible punisshementes/
that persones iuell and unprofitable/do nat
corrupte and deuoure his good subiectes.
Finally there is in prouidence suche an ad-
miration and maiestie / that nat onely it is
attributed to kinges and rulers/but also to
god creatour of the worlde.

☞ Industrie hath nat ben so longe tyme Industrie
ysed in the englisshe tonge as Prouidence :
wherfore it is the more straunge/ and requi-
reth the more plaine exposition. It is a qua-
litie procedyng of witte and experience/ by
the whiche a man perceyueth quickly / in-
uenteth fresshly/ and counsayleth spedily :
wherfore they that be called Industrious/
do mooste craftily and depely vnderstande in
all

The Governour.

Alcibi:
ades.

all affaires what is expedient/and by what
meanes & wayes they maye sonest exploite
them. And those thinges/ in whome other
men trauayle/ a person industrious lightly
and with facilitie spedeth/ & syndeth newe
wayes and meanes to bring to effecte that
he desireth. Amonge diuers other remem-
bred in histories/ such one amonge the gre-
kes was Alcibiades: who being in childe-
hode moste amiable of all other/ & of moste
subtile witte/ was instructed by Socrates.
The saide Alcibiades/ by the sharpnesse of
his witte/ the doctrine of Socrates/ and by
his owne experience in sondrie affaires in
the cōmune weale of the Athenienses/ be-
came so industrious/ that were it good or
iuell that he enterprised/ no thinge almoste
eskaped that he acheued nat/ were the thig
neuer so difficile (or as who say the) impeni-
trable: and that many sondrie thinges as
well for his countray/ as also agayne it/ af-
ter that he for his inordinate pride and le-
chery/ was out of Athenes exiled.

Julius
Cesar.

Amonge the romanes/ Caius Julius Ce-
sar/ whiche first toke vpon him the perpe-
tuall rule and gouernaunce of the empire/
is a noble example of industrie/ for in his
incomparable warres/ and busynesse incre-
dible

dible (if the autoritie and faithe of the writers were nat of longe tyme approued) he dyd nat onely excogitate moste excellent policies and deuises to vainquish he or subdue his enemies/ but also prosecuted them with suche celeritie and effecte/ that diuers and many tymes he was in the campe of his enemies/ or at the gates of their townes/ or fortresses/ whan they supposed that he and his hoste had ben two dayes iournay from thens/ leauing to them no tyme or layser/ to cōsulte or prepare agayne him sufficiēt resistance. And ouer that/ this qualitie industrie so reigned in him/ that he him selfe wolde ministre to his secretaries at one tyme and instante/ the cōtentes of thre sondrie epistles or lettres. Also it is a thing wonderfull to remembre / that he beyng a prince of the molte auncient and noble house of the romanes: And from the tyme that he came to mans astate/ almoste contynuelly in warres/ also of glorie insatiable/ of courage inuincible: coulde in affaires of suche importance and difficultie/ or (whiche is moche more to be meruayled at nowe) wolde so exactly write the historie of his owne actes and iestes: that for the natue & inimitable eloquence/ in expressing the counsailes/ deuises/

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ses/conuentions/progressions/enterprises/
exploitures/sourmes/and facions of imba-
tailynge/be semeth to put all other writers
of like mater to silence.

Here is the perfecte paterne of Industrie/
whiche I trust shal suffice to make the pro-
pre signification therof to be vnderstande of
the reders. And cōsequētly to incende them
to approche to the true practising therof.

So is the sēgles declared in these two qua-
lities Providence and Industrie : whiche
seriously noted and oftē remembred of the
daunfers and beholders / shall acquire to
them no litle frute and cōmoditie / if there
be in their myndes any good and laudable
mater for vertue to warke in.

Of the fifthe braunche called circumspe-
ction/shewed in reprimse. Lap.xiij.

Reprimse
in dauns-
sing.



Comunely nexte after sēgles
in daunsing is a reprimse/whi-
che is one mouing only / put-
tynge backe the ryght fote to
his felowe : And that may be
well called circūspection / whiche signifieth
as moche / as beholdynge on euery parte/
what is well and sufficient / what lackethe/
howe

howe and from whens it may be prouided:
Also what hath caused profite or damage
in the tyme passed: what is the astate of
the tyme present: what aduauntage or pe-
rile maye succede or is imminent. And by
cause in it is contained a deliberation in ha-
uing regarde to that that foloweth / and is
also of affinitie with prouidence and indu-
strie: I make hym in the fourme of a re-
trete. In this motion a mā may as it were
on a mountaine or place of espial / beholde
on euery syde farre of / measuring and este-
myng euery thing: and eyther pursue it / if it
be cōmendable / or abandone it or escheue it:
if it be noyfull. This qualite (lyke as pro-
uidence and industrie be) is a braunche of
Prudence / whiche some call the princeesse of
vertues: & it is nat onely expediet / but also
nedefull to euery astate and degree of men /
that do contynue in the lyfe called actife.

In the Iliados of Homere / the noble duke
Nestor / a man of maruaylous eloquence
and longe experience / as he that lyued thre
mennes lyues / as he there auunteth in the
counsaile that he gaue to Agamemnon / to
reconcile to him Achilles / the moste stronge
of all the grekes / he perswadyd Agamem-
non specially to be circumspect: declaringe /
howe

Nestor:

The Gouvernour.

howe that the priuate contention betwene them/ shulde replenisse the hooste of the grekes with moche dolour: wherat kynge Priamus and his children shulde laughe/ and the resydue of the Troyanes in their myndes shulde reioyce and take courage.

Fabius.

Amonge the Romanes Quintus Fabius for this qualitie is soueraignely extolled amonge historiens: and for that cause he is often tymes called of them *Fabius cunctator*/ that is to saye the tariah or delayer/ for in the warres bytwene the romanes and Anniball/ he knowynge all costes of the countray/ continually kept him and his hooste on mountaynes and high places/ within a small distaunce of Hanniballes armie: so that neither he wolde abandon his enemies/ nor yet ioyne with them batayle. By whiche wonderfull policie he caused Anniball so to traualle/ that some tyme for lacke of vitayle/ and for werynesse/ great multitudes of his hooste perished. Also he oftentimes awayted them in daungerous places/ vnredy/ and than he skirmished with them/ as long as he was sure to haue of them aduauntage: and after he repayred to the hyghe places adioyning/ vsyng his accustomed maner to bebolde the passage of Anniball. And by
this

this meanes/ this moſte circumspecte capitaine Fabius/ wonderfully infeblyd the power of the ſaid Anniball: whiche is no laſſe eſtemed in praiſe/ than the ſubduing of Carthage by the valiaunt Scipio. For if Fabius had nat ſo fatigate Anniball and his hoſte/ he had ſhortly ſubuerted the cite of Rome/ and than coulde nat Scipio haue ben able to attayne that entrepriſe.

what more clere mirrour or ſpectacle can we deſire of circūſpection/ than kyng Henry the ſeuenth/ of moſt noble memorie/ father vnto our mooste dradde ſoueraigne lorde: whoſe worthy renome/ like the ſonne in the middes of his ſphere/ ſhyneth & euer ſhall ſhynie in mennes remembrance: what incomparable circumspection was in hym alway founden/ that nat withſtandynge his longe abſence out of this realme/ the diſturbance of the ſame by ſondrye ſeditions amonge the nobilitie / Little warres and batayles/ wherein infinite people were ſlayne / beſyde ſkirmiſſhis and ſlaughters in the priuate contentions and factions of diuers gentlemen/ the lawes layde in water (as is the puerbe) affection & auarice ſubduinge iuſtice & equitie: yet by his moſte excellent witte/ he in ſewe yerēs / nat onely broughte this

Kyng
Henry
the .vii.

¶

realme

The Governour.

realme in good ordre and vnder due obedience/ reuiued the lawes / auauanced Justice/ reformissed his dominions / and repayzed his manours : but also with suche circumspection traited with other princes and realmes / of leages/ of aliaunce/ and amities/ that duryng the more parte of his reigne/ he was litle or nothyng inquieted with out warde hostilitie or martiall businesse. And yet all other princes either feared hym / or had hym in a fatherly reuerence. whiche praise with the honour there vnto due / as inheritaunce discendeth by righte vnto his most noble some our moste dere soueraigne lorde that nowe presently raigneth. For as Tulli saith: The best inheritaunce that the fathers leue to their children/ excellyng all other patrimonie / is the glorie or praise of vertue and noble actis : and of suche faire inheritaunce his highnesse may cōpare with any prince that euer raigned : whiche he dayly augmenteth/ adding thereto other sōdry vertues : whiche I forbear nowe to reherce / to the intent I wyll exclude all suspicion of flattery / sens I my selfe in this warke do speciallye reprove it. But that whiche is presently knowen / and is in experience / nedeth no monument. And vnto so
excel

excellent a prince / there shall nat lacke here
after condigne writers to registre his actes/
with mooste eloquent stile in perpetuell re-
membrance.

Of the sixte seuenth and eighte braun-
ches of prudence. Cap. xxv.



Double in daunsinge is com-
pacte of the nombze of thre/
wherby may be noted these
thre braunches of prudence/
election/experience / and mo-
destie : by them the saide vertue of prudēce
is made complete / and is in her perfection.
Election is of an excellēt powar & autoritie/
and hath iuche a maiestie that she will nat
be approached vnto of euery man. For some
there be / to whom she denieth her presēce/
as children/naturall fooles/men beinge frā-
nike/or subdued with affect; also they that
be subiectes to flaterers and proude mē. In
these persones reason lacketh libertie: whi-
che shuld prepare their entrie vnto electiō.
This Election / whiche is a parte/ and as it
were a membre of prudēce/is best described
by Opportunitie / whiche is the principall
parte of counsaile/and is compacte of these

Election.

Opportun-
itie

W.ij.

thin.

The Governour.

things folowyng.

The importaunce of the thing consulted/
The facultie and power of hym that cōsul-
teth / The tyme whan / The fourme howe/
The substance wherwith to do it / The di-
positions and vsages of the countrayes /
For whom and agayne whom it oughte to
be done. All these thiges prepensed and ga-
thered to gether seriously and after a due
examination euery of them iustely pondred
in the balance of reason / Immediately co-
meth the autoritie of Election/who taketh
on her to appoynt what is to be effectually
folowed or pursued/reiectyng the residue.
experience. And than ought experience to be at hande/
to whom is comitted the actuall execution.
For without her / Election is frustrate and
all inuention of man is but a fantasie. And
therefore who aduisedly beholdeth the a-
state of mannes life/shall well perceiue that
all that euer was spoken or writen / was to
be by experience executed: and to that intēt
was speche specially gyuen to man/wherin
he is moſte discrepant from brute beaſtis/in
declaring what is good/what viciouſe/what
is profitable / what improfitable / by them
whiche by clerenesse of witte do excelle in
knowlege/to theſe that be of a more iſerior
capa.

capacitie. And what vtilitie shulde be acquired by suche declaration if it shulde nat be experienced with diligence?

The philosopher Socrates had nat bene named of Appollo the wyfeste man of all Gracia / if he had nat daylye practised the vertues / which he in his lessons comended.

Socrates

¶ Julius Caesar / the firste emperour / all though there were in hym moche hydde lernynge : In so moche as he firste founde the ordre of our kalandre / with the Lile and bisexte / called the lepe yere : yet is he nat so moche honoured for his lernynge as he is for his diligence / wherwith he exploited or brought to cōclusion those cōsailes / whiche as well by his excellent lerning and wisdom / as by the aduise of other experte counsaillours were before traited : And (as I mought saye) ventilate.

Julius
Caesar.

¶ who wyll nat repute it a thinge vayne and scornfull / & more lyke to a may game / than a mater seriouse or comendable / to behold a personage / whiche in speche or wrytyng expresseth nothing but vertuous manners / sage and discrete counsailes and boly aduertisemētes : to be resolued in to all vices / folowynge in his actis no thinge that he bym selfe in his wordes approuethe and

The Gourinour:

teacheth to other?

who shall any thyng esteeme their wysedome / whiche with great studies finde out remedies & prouisions necessary for thinges disordred or abused / And where they themselves may execute it / they leue it yntouched: wherby their deuises with the soun that prouounced them / be vanissed and come to nothing? Semblably it is to be thought in all other doctrine. wherfore as it semed / it was nat without consideration affirmed by Tulli / that the knowlege and cōtemplation of Natures operations / were lame and in a maner imperfecte / if there folowed none actuall experience. Of this shall be more spoken in the later ende of this warke.

Off. i.

modestie

Here with wolde be conioyned or rather mixte with it / the vertue called Modestie: whiche by Tulli is defined to be the knowlege of oportunitie of thinges to be done or spoken / in appoyntyng and setting them in tyme or place to them conuenient & propre. wherfore it semeth to be moche like to that whiche men cōmunely call discretion. All be it discretio in latine signifieth Separation: wherin it is more like to Election: but as it is cōmunely vsed / it is nat only like to Modestie / but it is the selfe Modestie. For he that

that forbereth to speake/ all though he can
do it bothe wisely and eloquently/ by cause
neither in the time nor in the becrers/ he findeth
the oportunitie/ so that no frute may succede
of his speche/ he therfore is vulgarly called
a discrete persone. Semblably they name him
discrete/ that punisheth an offender lesse than
his merites do require / hauing regarde to the
waikenes of his pson/ or to the aptnesse of his
amédemét. So do they in the vertue called
Liberalitie/ where in gyuyng / is had consideration
as well of the condition and necessite of the
persone that receiueth / as of the benefite that
cometh of the gyfte receyued. In euery of
these thinges and their semblable / is Modestie;
whiche worde nat beinge knowen in the englishe
tonge/ ne of al them which vnderstode latin/
except they had radde good autours / they
impropzely named this vertue discretion. And
nowe some men do as moche abuse the worde
modestie/ as the other dyd discretion. For if a
man haue a sadde cōtenāce at al times/ & yet
not beinge meued with wrathe/ but pacient/ &
of moche gentilnesse: they/ whiche wold be
sene to be lerned/ wil say that the mā is of
a great modestie, where they shulde rather
saye that

modestie
abused.

Modestie

be

The Gouernour.

he were of a great mansuetude : whiche terme beinge semblably before this time vnknowne in our tonge / may be by the suffraunce of wise mē nowe receiued by custome: wherby the terme shall be made familiare. That lyke as the Romanes translated the wisdome of Grecia in to their citie : we may / if we liste / bringe the lernynges and wisdomes of them both in to this realme of Englāde / by the translation of their warres : sens lyke entrepryse hath ben taken by frenche men / Italions / & Germanes / to our no litle reproche for our negligēce & slouth.

And thus I cōclude the last parte of daunsinge / whiche diligently beholden / shall appiere to be as well a necessary studie as a noble & vertuouse pastyme / vsed & cōtinued in suche forme as I hiderto haue declared.

Of other exercises / whiche if they be moderately vsed / be to euery astate of man expedient. Cap. xxvi



haue showed howe buntynge & daunsing may be in the nōbre of commendable exercises / and passe tymes / nat repugnant to vtue. And yndoubted it were moche

moche better to be occupied in honest recreation than to do nothyng. For it is saide of a noble autour: In doinge nothigemen lerne to do iuel: Quidius the poete saith:

If thou flee idlenes / Cupide hath no myghte:

Quid de remedio amoris.

His bowe speeth broken / His fire hath no lychte.

Idlenesse.

It is nat onely called idlenes / wherin the body or minde cesserh from labour / but specially idlenes is an omission of al honest exercise: the other may be better called a vacation from seriouse businesse: whiche was some tyme embraced of wise men and vertuous. It is writen to the praise of Xerxes kynge of Persia / that in tyme vacaunt from the affaires of his realme / he with his owne handes hadde planted innumerable trees / whiche longe or he died brought fourth abundance of frute: and for the craftie and dilectable ordre in the setting of them / it was to al men / beholding the princes industrie / exceeding maruailous.

Kynge Xerxes.

But who abhorreth nat the historie of Serdanapalus / kynge of the same realme? whiche hauyng in detestation all princely affaires / and leuyng all company of men / enclosed hym selfe in chabers with a great multitude of concubynes: And for that he wolde seme to be some time occupied / or els

Serdanapalus.

W. y.

that

The Coner worre.

playing
at dise.

that wanton pleasures & quietnesse became
to hym tedious/he was founde by one of
his lordes in a womans atyre spinning in a
distafe amonge persones defamed: whiche
knowne abroad/ was to the people so odi-
ouse/ that finally by them he was burned/
with all the place wherto he fledde for his
refuge. And I suppose there is nat a more
playne figure of idlenesse/ than playinge at
dise. For besides that/that therin is no ma-
ner of exercise of the body or mynde/ they
whiche do playe therat must seme to haue
no portion of witte or kunnyng/ if they will
be called faire plaiars / or in some company
auoide the stabbe of a dagger/ if they be
taken with any crafty conueiaunce. And by
cause alwaye wisdom is therin suspected/
there is seldome any playinge at dise/ but
therat is vebement chiding and braulyng/
horrible othes/ cruell/ and some tyme mo-
tall menacis. I omitte strokes/ which nowe
and than do bappen often tymes betwene
bretberne and most dere frendes/ if fortune
brynge alwaye to one man iuell chaunces/
whiche maketh the playe of the other sus-
pected. O why shulde that be called a
playe/ whiche is cōpacte of malice & robrye
Undoubtedly they that write of the firste
inuen-

inventions of thinges / haue good cause to suppose Lucifer prince of deuilles / to be the firste inuentour of dise playinge / & helle the place where it was founde / al though some do write that it was first inuēted by Attal⁹. For what better allectiue coulde Lucifer deuise to allure or bringe men pleasauntly in to damnable seruitude / than to purpose to them in fourme of a playe / his principall tresory : wherein the more parte of synne is contained / and all goodnesse and vertue cōfounded:

The firste occasion to playe / is tediousnes of vertuous occupation: Immediately succedeth couaiting of an other mans goodes / whiche they calle playinge : therto is annexed auarice and straite kepyng / whiche they call wynnyng : sone after cometh swer yng in rentyng the mēbres of god / whiche they name noblenesse : (for they wyll say be that swereth depe / swereth like a lorde) thā foloweth the fure or rage / whiche they calle courage: amonge them cometh inordinate watche / whiche they name paynfulnesse : he bringeth in glotonie / and that is good felowshippe : and after cometh slepe superfluous / called amonge them naturall reste : & he some tyme bringeth in lechery: whiche
is

The Governour.

disse/beside the synall rewarde/whiche is
more terrible: the reporte wherof I leaue
to diuines/ suche as fere nat to shewe their
lerninges/ or fille nat their mouthes so full
with swete meates/ or benefices/ that their
tonges be nat let to speake trouth: for that
is their duetie & office/ excepte I with many
other be moche disceyued.

Playing at cardes & tables is some what
more tollerable / only for as moche as ther
in wytte is more vsed / and lasse truste is in
fortune/ all be hit therin is neither laudable
study nor exercise. But yet men delitinge in
vertue mought with cardes and tables de-
uise games / where in mought be moche
solace and also study comodious: as devi-
sing a bataile/ or contention betwene vertue
and vice/ or other like plessaunt and honest
invention.

The chesse of all games/ wherin is no bo-
dily exercise is mooste to be comended: for
therin is right subtile engine: wherby the
wytte is made more sharpe / and remem-
brance quickened. And it is the more comen-
dable and also commodious/ if the players
haue radde the moralization of the chesse/
and whan they playe do thinke vpon hit:
whiche booke be in englissh. But they be
very

very ſcarſe / by cauſe fewe men do ſecke in
plaies for vertue or wiſedome.

That ſhotyng in a longe bowe is principall
of all other exerciſes. Cap. xxvij.



Illi ſaith in his firſte booke of
Officiis : we be nat to that in-
tent brought vpp by Nature/
that we ſhuld ſeme to be made
to playe and diſporte : but ra-
ther to grauitie & ſtudies of more eſtimatiō.
wherfore it is writen of Alexander / empe-
rour of Rome / for his grauitie called Sene-
rus / that in his chyldebode / and before he
was taught the letters of greke or latine /
he neuer exerciſed any other play or game /
but only one : where in was a ſimilitude of
iuſtice : and therfore it was called in latine
Ad Iudices / whiche is in engliſſhe to the iu-
ges. But the forme therof is nat expreſſed
by the ſayde autor / nor none other that I
haue yet radde. wherfore I wyll repaire a-
gaine to the reſidue of honeſt exerciſe.

And for as moche as Galene in his ſecōde
booke of the preſeruatiō of helth / declareth
to be in them theſe qualities or diuerſities /
that is to ſay / that ſome be done with extē-
dinge

The Countour.

tyng: why shulde nat boulyng/claiſſhe
pynnes/and koytyng: be as moche comen-
ded: Verily as for two the laste/ be to be
ytterly abiected of al noble men/in like wise
foote-balle/ wherin is nothinge but beastly
furie/and extreme violence: wherof proce-
deth hurte/ and consequently rancour and
malice do remaine with them that be wou-
ded, wherfore it is to be put in perpetuall
silence.

In claiſſhe he is employed to litle strength: in
boulyng often times to moche. wherby the
sinewes be to moche strayned/ & the vaines
to moche chased. wherof often tymes is
sene to ensue ache/or the decreas of strength
or agilitie in the armes. where/in shootyng/
if the shooter vse the strength of his bowe
within his owne tiller/he shal neuer be ther
with griened or made more feble.

Also in shootyng is a double vtilitie/wher
in it excelleth all other exercises and games
incomparably. The one is that it is/and al
way hath ben/ the moſte excellent artillerie
for warres: wherby this realme of Englade
hath bene nat only best defended from out-
warde hostilitie: but also in other regions
a fewe engliſſhe archers haue ben ſcene to
to preuaile agayne people innumerable:

Also

Also wonne inpreignable cities and stronge holdes / and kepte them in the myddes of the strengtb of their enemies. This is the seate / wberby englisshe men haue ben most bradde & had in estimation with outwarde princes / as well enemies as alies. And the comoditie therof hath bene approued as ferre as Hierusalem : as it shall appiere in in the liues of Richarde the firste / and Edward the firste / kynges of Englande : who made seuerall iournayes to recouer that holy citie of Hierusalem in to the possession of chrissten men : and achieued them honorablye : the rather by the powar of this seate of shootyng.

The premisses considered / O what cause of reproche shall the decaye of archers be to vs nowe liuyng : ye what irrecoverable damage either to vs or them / in whose time nede of semblable defence shall happen & whiche decaye / though we all redy pceiue / feare / & lament / and for the restauryng thereof cesse nat to make ordinaces / good lawes / and statutes : yet who effectuelly puttethe his hande to continual execution of the same lawes and prouisions : or beholdyng them dayly broke / wyneketh nat at the offedours
O mercifull god / howe longe shall we be
N.ij. mockers

The Governour.

mockers of our selves? howe longe shall we
skorne at our one calamitie: whiche bothe
with the eien of our mynde / and also our
bodily eien / we se dayly imminent / by negle-
ctyng our publike weale / and contemnyng
the due execution of lawes & ordinaunces:
But I shall herof more speake in an other
place: and retourne nowe to the seconde v-
tilitie founde in sbotyng in the longe bowe.
whiche is killyng of deere / wilde foule / and
other game: wherin is bothe profite and
pleasure aboue any other artillery.

And verily I suppose / that before crosse-
bowes and handgunnes were brought in to
this realme / by the sleighte of our enemies /
to thentent to destroye the noble defence of
archery: Continuell vse of sbotyng in the
longe bowe made the seate so perfecte and
exacte amōge englishe men: that they than
as surely & soone killed suche game / whiche
they list to haue / as they now can do with
the crossebowe or gunne: and more expē-
ditely / and with lasse labour they dyd it.
For beinge therein industrious / they kylled
their game further frō them (if they shotte
a great strēgth) than they can with a crosse-
bowe / excepte it be of suche waighte / that
the arme shall repente the bearyng thereof

twentie yeres after.

More ouer in the lōge bowe may be shotte
mo arowes and in lasse time/ne by the brea-
kyng therof ensueth so moche harme / as
by breakyng of the crossebowe.. Besides
that all tymes in bendyng the crossebowe
is in perile of breakyng. But this suffiseth/
for the declaration of shootyng: wherby it
is sufficiently proued that it incomparably
excelleth all other exercise/passetyme/or so-
lace. And hereat I conclude to write of ex-
ercise/whiche apptaineth as well to princis
z noble men/as to all other by their exāple:
whiche determine to passe furth their liues
in vertue z honestie. And here after / with
the assistance of god / vnto whom I rendre
this myn accout (for the talent that I haue
of hym receiued) I purpose to write of the
principall and (as I mought say) the parti-
culer studie and affaires of him that by the
prouidence of god / is called to the mooste
difficulte cure of a publike weale.

Libri primi finis.

N. iij.

The

The Governour.
The seconde booke.

what thynges he that is elected or appointed to be a governour of a publike weale ought to premeditate Capi. i.



In the booke preceedinge I haue (as I truste) sufficiently declared as wel what is to be called a very & righte publike weale / as also / that there shulde be therof one prince and soueraigne aboue all other governours. And I haue also expressed my conceipte and opinion touching nat only the studies / but also the exercises concerninge the necessary education of noble men and other / called to the gouernance of a publike weale / in suche forme as by the noble example of their liues / and the frute therof cominge the publike weale that shal happen to be vnder their gouernance / shal nat faile to be accounted happy / and the autoritie on them to be employed well & fortunately. Nowe will I traicte of the preparation of suche personages / whan they firste receyue any great dignitie / charge or gouernance of the weale publike.

First

Firste suche persones/beinge nowe aduulter/
that is to saye / passed theyr childehode as
well in maners as in yeres / if for their ver-
tues and lernynge / they happe to be called
to receyue any dignitie : they shulde firste
amoue all cōpany frō them/ And in a secrete
oratorie or priuie chābre / by them selfe as-
semble all the powers of their wittes/ to re-
membre these. vii. articles / whiche I haue
nat of myn owne heed deuised/ but excerpted
or gathered as well out of holy scripture/
as out of the warkes of other excellēt wri-
tars of famousse memorie : as they shall
sone perceiue / whiche haue radde and per-
used good autours in greke and latine.

First and aboue all thing let them con-
sider/ that from god only procedeth all bo-
nour/ And that neither noble progenie/ suc-
cession / nor election be of suche force / that
by them any astate or dignitie maye be so
stablissed / that god beinge stered to ven-
geaunce/ shall nat shortly resume it/ and p-
chance translate it where it shall like hym.
And for as moche as examples greatly do
profite in the stede of experience/ here shall
it be necessarye to remembre the historie of
Saul / whom god hym selfe elected to be
the first kynge of Israel : that where god

The Gouernour.

Saul and
Amalech.

Disobe-
dience.

cōmaunded hym by the mouth of Samuel
the ppbet/that for as moche as the people
called Amalech/had resisted the children of
Israbel/wbā they first departed frō Egypt/
he shuld therfore destroy al the countray/ &
slce men/women/ & children/all beastis & ca-
tell/ & that he shulde nothinge saue or kepe
therof. But Saul ass that he had vainquis-
shed Amalech/ & taken Agag kynge therof
prisoner/ he haug on hym cōpassion/ saued
his life only. Also he pserued the best oxen/
catel/ & vestures/ & all other thing that was
fairest & of most estimation/ & wolde nat cō-
sume it/ accordyng as god had cōmaunded
him/ sayig to Samuel/ that the people kept
it to the intent that they wolde make there
with to all mightie god a solemne sacrifice.
But Samuel reprouig him said: Better is
obediēce thā sacrifice. with other wordes
that do solowe in the historie. Finally for
that offence onely/ al mightie god abiected
Saul/ that he shulde no more reigne ouer
Israbel: And caused Samuel furthe with
to enoynte Dauid kynge/ the yongest sonne
of a poure man of Betbleem named Isai:
whiche was kepyng his fathers shepe.

Sens for ones neglecting the cōmandemēt
of god/ & that neither natural pitie nor the

in.

intent to do sacrifice with that whiche was
 saued mought excuse the trasgressiō of god
 des cōmādemēt nor mitigate his greuous
 displeasure: Howe vigilant ought a christen
 mā bringe in autoritie/ howe vigilāt (I say)
 industrious & diligent ought he to be in the
 administration of a publike weale? Dredig
 alway the wordes that be spokē by eternall
 sapiēce to thē that be gouernours of publik
 weales: All powar & vertue is gyuē of the
 lorde/ that of al other is highest: who shal
 examine your dedes/ & iserch your thoughtes:
 For whan ye were the ministres of his
 realme/ ye iuged nat vprightly/ ne obserued
 the lawe of iustice/ nor ye walked nat accor-
 ding to his pleasure: he shall shortly & ter-
 ribly appiere vnto you/ For moste harde &
 greuous iugemēt shall be on thē/ that haue
 rule ouer other: To the poure mā mercy is
 graunted: But the great men shall suffre
 great tourmētes. He that is lorde of all ex-
 cepteth no psone: ne he shall feare the gret-
 nes of any mā/ for he made as wel the great
 as the smal/ & careth for euery of thē equal-
 ly. The strōger or of more mighte is the p-
 sone: the strōger payne is to hym imminent.
 Therefore to you gouernours be these my
 wordes/ that ye may lerne wisdom & sal nat.

Sapiētie

N. y.

This

The Gouernour.

This notable sentence is nat only to be imprinted in the hartes of gouernours / but also to be often tymes reuolued and called to remembraunce.

Erasmus. They shall nat thynke howe moche honour they receiue / but how moche care and burdene. Ne they shall nat moche esteeme their reuenues and treasure / considerynge that it is no buten or prais / but a laboriouse office and trauaile.

Let them thynke the greater dominion they haue / that therby they sustayne the more care & studie. And that therfore they muste haue the lasse solace and passetymes / and to sensuall pleasures / lasse oportunitie.

Also whan they beholde their garmentes and other ornamentes / riche and precious: they shall thynke / what reproche were to them to surmounte in that / which be other mennes warkes and nat theirs / and to be vainquissed of a poure subiecte in sondry vertues : wherof they them selves be the artificers.

They that regarde them / of whom they haue gouernaunce / no more than shall appertaine to their owne priuate comodities / they no better esteeme them than other men doth their horses and mules / to whom they
em

employe no lasse labour and diligence not to the benefite of the sely bestis but to their owne necessities and singuler aduantage.

The most sure fundation of noble renome is a man to be of suche vertues & qualities as he desireth to be openly publissed. For it is a sainte praise that is gotten with feare or by flaterars gyuen / And the same is but fume whiche is supported with silence prouoked by menacis.

They shal also consider that by their pre-eminence they sitte as it were on a piller on the toppe of a mountaine where all the people do bebolde them nat only in their open affaires but also in their secrete pasetimes priue daliaunce / or other improfitable or wanton conditions : whiche soone be discovered by the conuersation of their most familiare seruautes: whiche do alway imbrace that studie wherin their maister deli-tereth : accordynge to the sayinge of Iesus Sirach : As the iuge of the people is so be his ministers. And suche as be the gouernours of the citie suche be the people. whiche sentēce is cōfirmed by sondry histories. For Nero / Caligula / Domiciane / Lucius Commodus / Varius Heliogabalus monstrous emperours norissed about them
tribau

The Boner route.

ribauldes / & other voluptuose artificers.
Maximianus / Dioclesian / Maxencius / & o-
ther psecutours of christe men / lacked nat in
uentours of cruel and terrible tourmentes.

Contrary wise reingne the noble Augu-
stus / Nerua / Traiane / Hadriane / the two
Antonines / and the wonderfull emperour
Alexander / for his grauitie called Seuerus /
the imperiall palaice / was alway replenis-
shed with eloquent oratours / delectable
poetes / wise philosophers / moſte cunnyng
and experte lawyars / prudent and valiaunt
capitaines. No ſemblable examples ſhall
hercof be founden / by them whiche purpo-
ſely do rede hystories : whom of all other I
moſte deſire to be princes and gouernours.

Theſe articles wel and ſubſtancially graue
in a noble mannes memorie / it ſhall alſo be
neceſſary to cauſe them to be delectably wri-
ten & ſette in a table within his bedde cham-
ber / addyng to the verſis of Claudiane the
noble poet / whiche he wrote to Theodoſius
and Honorius emperours of Rome : The
verſis I haue translated out of latine in to
engliſhe / nat without great studie and di-
ſculty : nat obſeruyng the ordre as they
ſtande : but the ſentence belongynge to my
purpoſe.

Though

Though þe thy power/ stretcheth bothe ferre & large
 Though inde the riche/ sette at the worldes ende Clande-
anus.
 And Medes with Arabi/ be bothe under thy charge
 And also Seres/ that silke to vs dothe sende
 If feare the trouble/ and small thinges the offende
 Corrupte desire/ thyne harte hath ones embraced
 Thou arte in bondage/ thyne honour is defaced.

Thou shalte be demed than worthy for to raigne/
 Whan of thy selfe/ thou wynnest the maistrp.
 Euel custome bringeth vertue in disdaine/
 Licence superfluous/ persuadeth moche folp/
 In to moche pleasure set nat felicitie
 If luste or anger do thy mynde assaile
 Subdne occasion/ and thou shalte some prenaile.

What thou mayst do desire nat for to knowe/
 But rather what thinge/ wylle become the best.
 Embrace thou vertue/ and kepe thy courage lowe/
 And thinke that alway/ measure is a fesse.
 Loue well thy people/ care also for the lesse.
 And whan thou studiest for thy comoditie/
 Make them all partners of thy felicitie.

Be nat moche moued with singuler appetite
 Except it profite vnto thy subiectes all
 At thyne example the people wylle desire
 Be it vice or vertue/ with the they rise or fall

The Governour.

No lawes auaise / men tourne as doth a ball
For where the ruler in liuynge is nat stable
Bothe lawe and counsaile is turned in to a fable.

These versis of Claudiane / full of excellēt
wisedomes / as I haue saide wolde be in a
table / in suche a place as a governour ones
in a daye maye bebolde them / specially as
they be expressed in latine by the said poeter
vnto whose eloquence no translation in en-
glishe may be equiualent. But yet were it
better to can them by harte / ye and if they
were made in the fourme of a ditie to be
songen to an instrument / O what a sweete
songe wolde it be in the eres of wise men :
For a meane musician mought therof make
a righte pleasant harmonie / where almoste
euery note shulde expresse a counsaile ver-
tuous or necessary.

ye haue nowe harde what premeditations
be expedient before that a man take on him
the gouernaunce of a publike weale. These
notable premeditations and remembrances
shulde be in his mynde / whiche is in auto-
ritie often tymes renewed. Than shall be
procede further in furnisshyng his persone
with honourable maners and qualities :
wherof very nobilitie is cōpacte : wherby
all

all other shall be induced to honour hym / loue hym / and feare hym / whiche thinges chiefly do cause perfecte obedience.

Now of these maners will I write in suche ordre / as in my conceipt they be (as it were) naturally disposed and sette in a noble man / and soonest in hym noted or espied.

The exposition of maiestie. Cap. ij.



Ma governour or man ha-
uyng in the publyke weale
some greatte authoritie / the
fountaine of all excellent ma-
ners is Maiestie : whiche is
the bolle propozcion and figure of noble
estate / and is proprely a beautie or comely-
nesse in his countenance / langage / & gesture
apt to his dignite / and accomodate to time /
place / & company : whiche like as the sonne
doth his beames / so doth it caste on the be-
holders and herers a pleasaunt & terrible
reuerence. In so moche as the wordes or
countenances of a noble man / shulde be in
the stede of a firme and stable lawe to his
inferiours. yet is nat Maiestie alwaye in
haulte or fierce countenaunce / nor in speche
outrageous or arrogant : but in honorable
and

The Governour.

Ulysses.

and sobre demeanure/ deliberate and graue
pronunciation/ wordes cleane and facile/ void
of rudenesse & dishonestie: without vayne
or inordinate iangling/ with suche an ex-
cellent temperance/ that he amonge an infi-
nite nombre of other persones by his ma-
iestie may be espied for a gouernour. wher-
of we haue a noble example in Homere of
Ulysses/ that whā his shippe and men were
perished in the see / and he vneth escaped/
and was caste on lande ypon a coste / where
the inhabitantes were called Phaeacae: he
beinge all naked / sauynge a mantell sente
to hym by the kynges daughter / without
other apparail or seruant/ represented suche
a wonderfull maiestie in his countenance and
speche/ that the kyng of the countray na-
med Alcinous / in that extreme calamitie /
wished that Ulysses wold take his dought-
er Nausicaa to wyfe/ with a greatte parte
of his treasure. And declaring the honour
that he bare towarde him/ he made for his
sake diuers noble esbatementes and passe-
times. The people also wondringe at his
maiestie honoured hym with sondrye pre-
sentes. And at their propre charges and ex-
penses/ couaied him in to his owne realme/
of Ithaca in a shippe of wonderfull begutie/
well

well ordinaunced and manned for his defence
and saulfe conduct. The wordes of Alci-
no^s / wherby he declareth the maiestie that
be noted to be in Vlisses / I haue put in en-
glissh nat so wel as I founde the in greke
but as well as my witte & tōge can exp̄sse it.

Alcinous to Vlisses.

whan I the consider Olysses / I perceiue
Thou doest nat dissemble to me in thy speche
As other haue done / whiche craftely can deceiue /
Vntruely repositinge / where they lyfte to p̄sche
Of thynges neuer done : suche falshode they do tēche.
But in thy wordes / there is a righte good grace
And that thy mynde is good / it sheweth in thy face.

The estimation of maiestie in cōtēnaunce
shall be declared by two examples nowe
ensuinge.

☞ To Scipio / beinge in his manour place /
caled Linterium / came diuers great theues
and pirates / only to the intent to se his per-
sone : of whose wonderfull prowesse and
sondry victories they harde the renome.
But he nat knowynge / but that they had
come to endomage hym / armed hym selfe
and suche seruantes as he than had with
D bym /

The Gonerour.

hym/and disposed them aboute the imba-
tilmētes of his house to make defēce : whi-
che the capitaynes of the theues pceiuyng/
they despeched the multitude from them/
and lainge a parte their harneise ⁊ waipōs/
they called to Scipio with a loude voice/
sainge / that they came nat as enemies/ but
wondringe at his vertue and prowesse / de-
sired only to se hym:whiche if he vouched
saufe / they wolde accounte for an heuenly
benefite. That beinge shewed to Scipio by
his seruantes / he caused the gates to be
sette wyde open / and the theues to be suffe-
red to entre : who kyssyng the gates and
postes with moche reuerence / as they had
bene of a temple or other place dedicate/
they humbly approched to Scipio : who
visaged them in suche fourme that they as
subdued with a reuerent drede/in beholdig
his maiestie/ at the last ioyfully kyssyng his
hande often tymes / whiche he benignely
offered to them / made humble reuerence/
and so departed/layinge in the porche sem-
blable offrynges as they gaue to their god-
des : And furthe with retourned to their
owne habitatiōs/reioysinge incredibly that
they had sene and touched a prince so noble
and valiaunt.

It

It is no litle thyng to meruaile at / the
maiestie shewed in extreme fortune and mi-
sery. The noble Romane Marius / whan
he had bene .vij. times Consul / beinge vain-
quissed by Scilla : after that he had lōge
hidde him selfe in marises & desarte places /
he was finally constrayned by famine to re-
paire to a towne called Minturne / where he
trusted to haue bene soucoured. But the in-
habitantes dreyng the crueltie of Scilla /
toke Marius and put him in to a dungeon /
And after sente to slee hym / their cōmune
hangeman : whiche was borne in Limbria /
a coutray some time destroyed by Marius.
The hangeman beholding the honourable
porte and maiestie / that remayned in Ma-
rius / nat withstandyng that he was out of
honorable apparaile / and was in garmētes
torne and filthie / he thought that in his vi-
sage appiered the terrible bataile / wherin
Marius vainquissed his countray men :
he therfore all trembling as cōstrayned by
feare / dyd lette falle out of his bande the
swerde / wherwith he shulde haue slayne
Marius : & leuyng hym vntouched / fledde
out of the place. The cause of his feare re-
ported to the people / they meued with re-
uerence / afterwarde studied & deuised howe
D. ij. they

The Governour.

they moughte delyuer Marius from the malice of Scilla.

In Augustus / emperour of Rome / was a natie maiestie. For as Suetonius writeth / from his eien proceded rayes or beames / whiche perced the eien of the beholders. The same emperour spake seldome openly / but out of a comentarie / that is to say that he had before prouided and writen : to the intente that he wolde speke no more ne lasse than he had purposed.

More ouer towarde the acquiring of maiestie / thre thinges be required to be in the oration of a man hauyng autoritie : that it be compendious / sententious / & delectable : hauyng also respecte to the tyme whan / the place where / and the persones to whom it is spoken. For the wordes perchance apte for a bankette or tyme of solace / be nat cōmendable in tyme of consultation or seruice of god. That langage that in the chambze is tollerable / in place of iugement or great assembly is nothing cōmendable.

**Of apparaile belongynge to a noble
man beinge a gouernour or great
counsailour. Cap. iij.**

Appa



Apparaile may be wel a parte of maiestie. For as ther hath bene euer a discrepance in vesture of youthe and age/men and women / And our lordē god ordayned the apparaile of preestis distincte from seculars/as it appiereth in holy scripture : also the gentiles had of auncient time sondry apparaile to sondry astates/as to the senate/ & dignities called magistrates. And what enormitie shulde it now be thought & a thinge to laughe at/to se a iuge or sergeant at the lawe in a shorte cote garded and pounced after the galyarde facion: or an apprentise of the lawe or pleder/come to the barre with a millaine bonet or frēche batte on his heed/sette full of plumes powdered with spangles : So is there apparaile comely to every astate and degree : & that whiche exceedeth or lacketh / procureth reproche/ in a noble man specially. For apparaile sumple or scante reprouethe hym of auarice. If it be alway exceeding precious and often tymes chaunged/as well in to charge as straūge and newe facions/it causeth him to be noted dissolute of maners.

The most noble emperours of Rome/Augustus/Traiane/Padriane/Antonine/Seuerus/

The Governours

uerus / and Alexander / whiche were of all other incomparable in honorable luyunge / vsed a discrete moderation in their appa- raile : all though they were greatte empe- rours & gētiles. Howe moche more ought than christen men / whose denomination is founded on humilitie / and they that be nat of the astate of princes / to shewe a modera- tion & constance in vesture / that they dimi- nish be no pte of their maiestie / either with newe fāglenesse / or with ouer sūptuous expē ces : & yet may this last be suffred wher ther is a great assembly of straungers : for than some tyme it is expedient / that a noble man / in his appa- raile / do aduaunte hym selfe to be both riche and honourable. But in this as well as in other partes of maiestie / tyme is to be highly considered.

Semblable deckyng oughte to be in the house of a noble man or man of honour. I meane concernyng orna- mentes of halle and chambres / in Arise / painted tables / and images / containyng bistories : wherin is re- presented some monument of vertue / moste cunnyngly wroughte / with the circumstance of the mater briefly declared / wherby o- ther men in beholdyng / may be instructed / or at the least wayes to vertue perswaded.

In

In like wise his plate & vessaile wolde be ingraued with hystories/fables/or quicke and wise sentences/cōprebending good doctrine or counsailes : wherby one of these cōmodities may happen/either that they which do eate or drinke/hauyng those wisdomes euer in sighte/shall happen with the meate to receiue some of them : or by purposinge them at the table/may sussitate some disputation or reasonyng : wherby some parte of tyme shall be saued / whiche els by superfluous eatyng and drinkyng wolde be idely consumed.

what very nobilitie is/and wherof it take
firste that denomination. Cap. iij.



Nowe it is to be feared / that where maiestie approcheth to excesse/ & the mynde is obsessed with iordinate glorie/left pride/ of al vices most horrible/shuld sodainely entre and take prisoner the harte of a gentilman called to autoritie. wherfore in as moche as that pestilence corrupteth the all senses / and maketh them incurable by any persuation or doctrine / therfore suche persones from their adollescencie (which is

Q. iij.

the

The Gouernour.

the age nexte to the state of man) oughte to be psuaded and taughte the true knowlege of very nobilitie in fourme folowig or like.

Fyrst that in the begynnyng when private possessions and dignitie were gyuen by the consent of the people : who than had all thinge in cōmune / and equalitie in degree & condition / Vndoubtedly they gaue the one and the other to him / at whose vertue they meruailed / and by whose labour and industrie they receiued a cōmune benefite / as of a cōmune father that with equall affection loued them / And that promptitude or redinesse in employinge that benefite was than named in englisshe gentilnesse / as it was in latine *benignitas* : and in other tonges after a semblable signification : and the persones were called gentilmen more for the remembrance of their vertue and benefite / than for discrepance of astates. Also it fortunied by the puidence of god / that of those good men were ingendred good children / who beinge brought vp in vertue / and pceiuinge the cause of the aduancement of their pgenitours / endeouored them selves by imitation of vertue / to be equall to them in honour and autoritie : by good emulation they retained stille the fauour and reuerence of people.

people. And for the goodnesse that pceded of suche generation / the state of them was called in greke *eugenia* : whiche signifieth the good kinde or lignage : but in a more brieve maner it was after called nobilitie : and the persones noble / whiche signifieth excellent / and in the analogie or significatiō it is more ample than gentill / for it containeth as well all that whiche is in gentilnesse / as also the honour or dignitie therfore receiued : whiche be so annexed the one to the other / that they can nat be seperate.

It wold be more ouer declared / that where vertue ioyned with great possessions or dignitie / hath longe continued in the bloode or house of a gentilman / as it were an inheritance / there nobilitie is mooste shewed / and these noble men be most to be honored : for as moche as continuance in all thinge that is good / hath euer preeminēce in praise & comparison. But yet shall it be necessary to aduertise those persones / that do thinke that nobilitie may in no wyse be but onely where men can auante them of auncient lignage / an auncient robe / or great possessiōs / at this daye very noble men do suppose to be moche errour & folye. wherof there is a familiare example / whiche we beare euer

The Gouernour.

with vs: for the bloode in our bodies beinge in youthe warme / pure / and lustie / it is the occasion of beautie / whiche is euery where comended and loued: but if in age it be putrified / it leseth his praise. And the goutes / carbuncles / kankers / lepries / and other lyke sores and sickenneses / whiche do procede of bloode corrupted / be to all men detestable. And this perswasion to any gentelman / in whom is apte disposition to very nobilitie / wyll be sufficient to withdrawe hym from suche vice / wherby he maye empayre his owne estimation and the good renoume of his auncetours.

If he haue an auncient robe / leste by his auncetour: Let him consider / that if the first owner were of more vertue than he is that succedeth / the robe beinge worne / it minis-
teth his praise / to them whiche knewe or haue herde of the vertue of him that firste owed it. If he that weareth it be vicious / it more detecteth howe moche he is vnworthy to weare it / the remembraunce of his noble auncetour makynge men to abhorre the reproche gyuen by an iuell successour. If the firste owner were nat vertuouse / he condemneeth him that weareth it of moche solist benefesse / to glorie in a thinge of so base
estima-

estimation/whiche lacking beautie or glosse
can be none ornament to hym that weareth
it/nor honorable remembrance to hym that
first owed it.

But nowe to cōfirme by true histories / that
accordynge as I late affirmed / nobilitie is
nat onely in dignitie / auncient lignage / nor
great reuenues landes or possessions : Lete
yonge gentilmen haue often times tolde to
them and (as it is vulgarely spoken) layde
in their lappes / howe Numa Pompilius
was taken from husbandry / whiche he ex-
ercised / and was made kynge of Romanes
by election of the people. what caused it
suppose you / but his wisdom and vertue?
whiche in hym was very nobilitie : ⁊ that
nobilitie broughte hym to dignitie. And if
that were nat nobilitie / the Romanes were
meruailously abused / that after the dethe
of Romulus their kynge / they hauynge a-
monge them a hundred senatours / whom
Romulus did sette in autoritie / and also the
blode roiall and olde gentilmen of the Sa-
bynes / who by the pcurement of the wiues
of the Romanes / beinge their doughters /
inhabited the citie of Rome : they wolde
nat of some of them electe a kynge / rather
than aduaunce a ploughman and stranger
to

Numa
kynge of
Romanes.

The Governour

to that autoritie.

Quintius
Dictator.

Quintius/hauyng but .xxx. acres of lande/ and beinge ploughman therof / the Senate & people of Rome sent a messenger to shewe him that they had chose him to be ^{dictator} / whiche was at that time the highest dignitie amonge the Romanes/ and for thre monethes had autoritie roiall. Quintius hearynge the message/ lette his ploughe stande/ & wente in to the citie / & prepared his hoste againe the Samnites/ & vainquished them valiauntly. And that done he surrendred his office/ and beinge discharged of the dignitie / he repaired agayne to his ploughe/ and applied it diligently.

I wolde demaunde nowe/ if nobilitie were only in the dignitie/ or in his prowesse/ whiche he shewed agayne his enemies : if it were only in his dignitie/ it therwith cessed/ and he was (as I mought say) estsones vn noble : & than was his prowesse vnrewarded : whiche was the chiefe and originall cause of that dignitie : whiche were incongruent and without reason. If it were in his prowesse : prowesse consistynge of valiant courage & martiall policie / if they styll remaine in the pson/ he may neuer be without nobilitie / whiche is the comendation/ and

and as it were the surname of vertue.

The two Romanes called bothe Decij /
were of the base astate of the people / and
nat of the great blode of the Romanes: yet Decij &
theras
uowe.
for the preservation of their countray / they
suowed to die : as it were in a satisfaction
for all their countray : And so with valiant
hartes they perced the hofte of their ene-
mies / and valiauntly fightyng / they died
there honorably : & by their example gaue
suche audacitie and courage to the residue
of the Romanes / that they employed so
their strengthe agayne their enemies / that
with litle more losse / they obtained victorie.
Ought nat these two Romanes / whiche by
their deth gaue occasion of victorie / be cal-
led noble ? I suppose no man that knoweth
what reason is / will denie it.

More ouer we haue in this realme coynes /
whiche be called nobles / as longe as they be
scene to be golde / they be so called : But if
they be counterfaicted and made in brasfe /
coper / or other vile metal / who for the print
only calleth them nobles : wherby it appe-
reth / that the estimation is in the metall / &
nat in the printe or figure.

And in a horse or good grehoude we prayse
that we se in them / and nat the beautie or
good.

The Gouernour.

goodnesse of their progenie. whiche puerth
that in esteemyng of money and catell we be
ladde by wysedome: and in approuyng of
man to whom beaſtis and money do ſerue/
we be only induced by cuſtome.

Thus I cōclude/ that nobilitie is nat after
the vulgare opinion of men/ but is only the
praiſe and ſurname of vertue. whiche the
lenger it cōtinueth in a name or lignage/ the
more is nobilitie extolled and meruailed at.

Of affabilitie/ and the vtilitie therof
in euery aſtate. Lap.v.



That whiche I before na-
med gentilnesse/ be incidēt thre
ſpeciall qualities. Affabilitie/
placabilitie/ & mercy/ of whom
I will nowe ſeperately declare
the propre ſignifications.

Affabilitie is of a wonderfull efficacie or
power in procuryng loue. And it is in ſon-
dry wiſe: but moſte proprely/ where a man
is facile or eaſie to be ſpoken vnto.

It is alſo where a man ſpeaketh cour-
taiſely/ with a ſwete ſpeeche or countenance:
wherwith the hearers (as it were with a de-
licate odour) be reſreſhed/ and alured to
loue

loue hym / in whom is this most delectable
 qualitie. As contrary wise: men yebemētly
 hate them that haue a proude and haulte
 countenance/be they ueuer so highe in astate
 or degree. Howe often haue I herde people
 say/whā men in great autoritie haue passed
 by / without makynge gentill countenance/
 to those whiche haue done to them reue-
 rence/This man weneth with a lōke to sub-
 due all the worlde: nay nay/mennes hartes
 be free and wyll lone whom they lyst. And
 therto all the other do consente in a mur-
 mure/as it were bees. Lorde god how they
 be sore blinded/whiche do wene that haulte
 countenance is a comelynesse of nobilitie:
 where yndoubted/notbig is therto/a more
 greater blemish be: As they haue well pro-
 ued / whiche by fortunes mutabilitie haue
 chaunged their astate / whan they perceiue
 that the remembrance of their pride/with-
 draweth all pitie : all men reioysing at the
 chaunge of their fortune.

haulte
 counte-
 nance.

Dionise the proude kynge of Sicile / after
 that for his intollerable pride/he was driue
 by his people out of his realme / the reme-
 brance of his haulte and stately couēnace/
 was to al men so odious/that he coulde be
 in no couētry well entertained. In so moche

The Governour.

goodnesse of their progenie. whiche puerth
that in esteemyng of money and catell we be
ladde by wysedome: and in approuyng of
man to whom beaſtis and money do ſerue/
we be only induced by cuſtome.

Thus I cōclude/ that nobilitie is nat after
the vulgare opinion of men/ but is only the
praye and ſurname of vertue. whiche the
lenger it cōtinueth in a name or lignage/ the
more is nobilitie extolled and meruailed at.

Of affabilitie/ and the ytilitie therof
in euery aſtate. Cap.v.



That whiche I before na-
med gentilnesse/ be incider thre
ſpeciall qualities. Affabilitie/
placabilitie/ & mercy/ of whom
I will nowe ſeperately declare
the propre ſignifications.

Affabilitie is of a wonderfull efficacie or
power in procuryng loue. And it is in ſon-
dry wiſe: but moſte proprely/ where a man
is facile or eaſie to be ſpoken vnto.

It is alſo where a man ſpeaketh cour-
taiſely/ with a ſwete ſpeeche or countenance:
wherewith the hearers (as it were with a de-
licate odour) be reſreſhed/ and alured to
loue

loue hym / in whom is this most delectable
 qualitie. As contrary wise: men yebemētly
 bate them that haue a proude and haulte
 countenance/be they ueuer so highe in astate
 or degree. Howe often haue I herde people
 say/whā men in great autoritie haue passed
 by / without makynge gentill countenance/
 to those whiche haue done to them reue-
 rence/This man weneth with a lōke to sub-
 due all the worlde: nay nay/mennes hartes
 be free and wyll loue whom they lyst. And
 therto all the other do consente in a mur-
 mure/as it were bees. Lorde god how they
 be sore blinded/which do wene that haulte
 countenance is a comelynesse of nobilitie:
 where yndoubted/notbig is therto/a more
 greater blemish be: As they haue well pro-
 ued / whiche by fortunes mutabilitie haue
 chaunged their astate / whan they perceiue
 that the remembrance of their pride/with-
 draweth all pitie : all men reioysing at the
 chaunge of their fortune.

Haulte
 counte-
 nance.

Dionise the proude kynge of Sicile / after
 that for his intollerable pride/he was driue
 by his people out of his realme / the reme-
 brance of his haulte and stately cōutenāce/
 was to al men so odious/that he coulde be
 in no cōtray well entertained. In so moche

The Governour

as if he had nat be releued by lernyng/ tea-
chyng a grammer schole in Italy/ he for lacke
of frendes had bene constrayned to begge
for his lyuynge.

Semblably Perſes kyng of Macedonia/
& one of the rycheſt kynges that euer was
in Grece/ For his execrable pride/ was at
the laſt abandoned of all his alies and con-
federates/ by reaſon wherof/ he was vain-
quyſſhed and taken pryſoner by Paulus
Emilius one of the cōſules of Rome: & nat
onely he hym ſelfe bounden/ and ledde as a
captiſe: in the triumphe of the ſayde Pau-
lus: but alſo the remembrance of his pride
was ſo odiouſe to people/ that his owne
ſonne deſtitute of frendes/ was by nede con-
ſtrayned to worke in a ſmythes forge/ nat
fynding any man that of his harde fortune
had any compaſſion.

☛ The pride of Tarquine the laſt kyng of
Romanes was more occaſion of his exile/
than the rauyſſhyng of Lucrecia/ by his
ſonne Aruncius: for the malice that the peo-
ple by his pride had lōge gathered/ finding
valiaunt capitaynes/ Brutus/ Colatinus/
Lucretius/ and other nobles of the citie:
at the laſt braſte out: and takynge occaſion
of the rauyſſement: all though the kynges
were

were therto not partie: they vtterly expul-
sed hym for ever out of the citie. These be
the frutes of pride/ & that men do cal stately
countenance.

whan a noble man passeth by/ shewyng to
men a getil & familiare visage/ it is a worlde
to bebolde howe people take the comfote:
howe the blode in their visage quickeneth:
howe their flesshe stireth & hart] lepeth for
gladnesse? Than they all speke as it were in
an harmonie/ the one saith/ who beholdig
this mans moste gentill countenaunce/ wyll
nat with all his harte loue hym? Another
saith/ he is no man but an aungell / se howe
he reioyseth all men that bebolde him. Fi-
nallye all do graunt that he is worthye all
honour that may be giuen or willed him.

But nowe to resorte to that/ whiche moste
ppriely (as I haue said) is affabilitie. which
is facile or easy to be spoken vnto.

Lybertye
of speche.

Marcus Antoninus emperour of Rome
(as Lampadius wryteth) enserched who
were moost homely and playne men within
the cite/ and secretely sent for them in to his
chaumbre/ where he diligently enquired of
them/ what the people coniected of his ly-
uing: commaundying them vpon payne of
his bygb indignation / to tell hym trouth/

D

and

Of Government.

and byde notbynge from hym. And vpon
their reporte/ if he herde any thing worthy
neuer so litle disproue/ he furthwith amende
d hit. And also by suche meanes he cor
rected them that were about his persone/
syndyng them negligent / dissemblars / and
flateras: The noble Traiane/ when his no
bles and counsaillours noted him to familiar
and curtaise/ and therfore dyd blame hym/
He answered that he wolde be a like empe
perour to other men/ as if he were a subiect
he wolde wyssh he to haue ouer hym selfe.
¶ What damage haue ensued to princes &
their realmes/ where libertie of speche hath
ben restrayned? what auayled fortune in
comparable to the great kynge Alexander/
his wonderfull puissance and hardynes / or
his singuler doctrine in philosophy/ taught
hym by Aristotle/ in deliuerynge hym from
the deth in his yonge and flourissing age
where if he had retained the same affabili
tie that was in hym in the begynnyng of
his conquest / and had nat put to silence his
counsaillours/ whiche before vsed to speake
to hym frankely / he mought haue escaped
all violent dethe: & by similitude haue en
ioyed the houle monarchie of al the worlde.
For after that he waxed to be terrible in
maners/

Alexan
ders cruel
tie in sle
yng his
frendes.

maners/and prohibited his frendes and discrete seruantes to vse their accustomed libertie in speche/be felle in to a hatefull grudge amonge his owne people.

But I had almost forgotten/Julius Cesar/
 who beinge nat able to sustaine the burden
 of fortune / and enuienge his owne felicitie/
 abandoned his naturall disposition/ & as it
 were beinge dröke with ouer moche welth/
 sought newe wayes howe to be aduaüced/
 aboue the astate of mortall princes: wher-
 fore litle and litle he withdrewe from men
 his accustomed gentilnesse/becomyng more
 sturdy in langage/and straunge in couënaçe
 than euer before had ben his vsage. And to
 declare more plainely his entêt/he made an
 edict or decre/that no man shulde prease to
 come to hym vncalled:and that they shuld
 haue good awaite/that they spake not in su-
 che familiar facion to hym / as they before
 had ben accustomed: wherby he so dyd ali-
 enate from hym the hartis of his most wise
 and assured adherentis / that frö that tyme
 forwarde/his life was to them tedious:and
 abbozring him as a monstre or cömunne ene-
 mie/they beinge knitte in a cöfederacy/slewe
 hym sitting in the Senate: of whiche cöspi-
 raci was chiefe capitaine Marcus Brutus/

Julius
Cesar.

Senato:
rums.

P.ij.

whom

The Conemour.

whome of all other he beste loued / for his great wisdom and prowesse. And it is of some writers suspected / that he was begotē of Cesar: for as moche as Cesar i his youth loued Seruilia / the mother of Brutus: and as men supposed / vsed her more familiarly than honestie required. Thus Cesar by omittinge his olde affabilitie / dyd incēde his next frendes and companions to sle hym.

The intimation of the conspiracie made vnto Cessars owne persons.

But nowe take hede what damage insued to hym by his decre / wherin he cōmanded / that no mā shuld be so hardy to approche or speke to hym. One whiche knewe of the conspiracie agayne hym / & by al lykelyhode did participate therin / beinge moued either with loue or pitie / or other wise his cōsciēce remording agayne the destruction of so noble a prince / consideringe that by Cessars decre he was prohibited to haue to hym any familiar accesse / so that he might nat plainly detect the cōspiraci / he therto vebemētly moued / wrote in a byll all the forme therof: with the meanes howe it myght be espied / and sens he mought fynde none other oportunitie / he delyuered the byll to Cesar the same day that his dethe was prepared / as he wente towarde the place / where the Senate was holden. But he beinge radicate in pūde

pride/and neglecting to loke on that bil/not esteeming the persone that deliuered it/whiche perchance was but of a mean hauiour: continued his way to the Senate: where he incontinently was slaine by the said Brutus/ and many mo of the Senate for that purpose appoynted.

who beholdinge the cause of the dethe of this moste noble Cesar / vnto whom in eloquence/doctrine/martial prowesse/ and gentillesse/no prince may be comparid/and the acceleration or haste to his confusion caused by his owne edict or decre/will nat comende affabilitie/ & extolle libertie of speche: wherby onely loue is in the hartis of people perfectly kendled/all feare excluded/ and consequently realmes/dominions/ & all other autorites consolidate & perpetuelly stablissed. The sufferance of noble men to be spoken vnto/is not onely to them an incomparable suretie/ but also a cōfouder of repentance enemye to prudence/ wherof is ingédred this worde Had I wist/ whiche hath ben euer of all wise men reprovéd.

On a tyme king Philip/ sader to the great Alexander/ sittinge in iugement/ and hauing before him a matter agayne one of his seruitors/ being ouercōmē with watche/ fel on

Jugement
suspended
through
libertie of
speche.

Plutarch
quod

The Gouernour.

a slombre: and sodaynly being awaked / immediately wolde haue giue a sentēce agayne the poure souldiour: But he with a great voice & outcrie said: King Philip I appele. To whom wylt thou appele / said the kyng: To the (said the souldiour) whan thou arte thoroughly awaked. with whiche answer the kyng suspēded his sentence: and more diligently examinyng the mater / founde the souldiour had wronge: whiche beinge sufficiently discussed / he gaue iugemēt for him / whom before he wolde haue condemned.

Seemably hapned by a poure woman / agayne whom the same kyng had gyuen iugemēt: but she as desperate / with a loude voice cried: I appele I appele. To whom appelist thou said the kyng: I appele / saide she / from the nowe beinge dronke / to kyng Philip the sobre. At which word / though they were vndiscrete and foolishe / yet he nat beinge moued to displeasure / but gatheringe to hym his wittes / examyned the mater more seriously: wherby he findyng the poure woman to sustaine wronges / he reuerfed his iugement / and accordyng to truthe and iustice / gaue to her that she demanded. wherin he is of noble autours cōmended / & put for an honorable example of
of

of affabilitie.

The noble emperour Antonine / called the philosopher / was of suche affabilitie / as Herodiane writeth / that to euery man that came to him / he getilly deliuered his hâde. And wold nat pmitte that his garde ſhuld prohibite any man to approche hym.

Antonine
philosofus.

herodias
anus.

The excellēt emperour Augustus on a time / in the preſence of many men / plaied on cymbales / or a nother like instrument : A poure man ſtandynge with other and beholdynge the emperour ſaide / with a loude voice to his ſelowes : Seest thou nat howe this voluptuouse lechour tempereth al the worlde with his finger ? whiche wordes the emperour ſo wiſely noted / without wrathe or diſpleaſure / that euer after / durynge his lyfe / he refrayned his handes from ſemblable lightneſſe.

Augustus.

Suetonius.

The good Antonine emperour of Rome / comynge to ſupper to a meane gentelman / behelde in the houſe certayne pillers of a delicate ſtone called porphyre / Aſked of the good man / where he had boughte thoſe pillers : who made to the emperour this anſwere : Sir whan ye come in to any other mannes houſe than your owne / euer be you bothe dome and deſe, whiche liberall taunte that

Antoninus pius.

Lapidus.

D. uij.

moſte

The Governour.

moste gentill emperour toke in so good pte
that he often tymes reherced that sentence
to other for a wyse and discrete counsaile.

By these exaples appereth nowe euidently
what good comethe of affabilitie or suffe-
raunce of speche / what mooste pernicious
dauger alway ensueth to them / that either
do refuse counsaile / or prohibite libertie of
speche : sens that in libertie (as it hath bene
proued) is mooste perfecte suertie / according
as it remembred by Plutarke of Theo-
pompus kyng of Lacedemone : who beinge
demaunded howe a realme moughte be best
and mooste surely kepte. If (saide he) the
prince giue to his frendes libertie / to speake
to bym thinges that be iuste : & neglecteth
nat the wroges that his subiecte sustaineth.

Dowe noble a vertue placabi-
litie is. Cap. vi.



Placabilitie is no litle part of
Benignitie / and it is pprely
where a man is by any occa-
sion moued to be angry / and
nat withstandyng either by
his owne reason ingenerate / or by counsaile
persuaded / he omitteth to be reuenged : and
often

often times receiueth the trasgressour ones
 reconciled / in to more sauour : whiche vn-
 doubtedly is a vertue wonderfull excellent:
 For as Tulli saith: No thinge is more to
 be meruailed at / or that more becometh a
 man noble and honorable / than mercy and
 placabilitie. The value therof is best e
 knowen by the contrarye / whiche is ire
 called vulgarely wrathe : a vice moste vgly
 and ferrest from humanitie. For who be-
 holdyng a man in estimation of nobilitie
 and wisdom / by furie chaunged in to an
 horrible figure / his face infarced with ran-
 cour / his mouthe foule & imbosd / his eien
 wyde starynge and sparklyng lyke fire / nat
 speakyng / but as a wylde bulle / rozyng and
 brayieng out wordes despitesfull and veno-
 mous / forgetyng his astate or condition /
 forgeting lernyng / ye forgetyng all reason /
 wyll nat haue suche a passion in extreme de-
 testatiō : Shall he nat will be to be in suche
 a man placabilitie : wherby only he shulde
 be eftsones restored to the fourme of a man /
 wherof he is by wrathe despoyled / as it is
 wonderfly well described by Ouide in his
 crafts of loue :

Cl. off. 6

3re or
wrathe.

P. 17.

Dan

The Governour.

Ouidius
de arte
amandi. Man to thy visage it is conuenient
Beastly fury Morte to asuage.
For peace is beautifull to man only sent,
Wrathe to the beast is cruell and sauaige.

For in man the face swellith/whā wrathe is in rage
The blode becometh wanne/the eien fyre bright
Like Gorgon the monstre appieringe in the nyght.

Alexander
in furye.

This Gorgon that Ouide speaketh of / is
supposed of poetes to be a fury or infernall
monstre : whose heris were all in the figure
of adders / signifieng the abundance of mi-
schiefe that is contained in wrathe. wher-
with the great kynge Alexander beinge (as
I mought say) obsessed / dyd put to venge-
able deth his dere frende Clitus / his molte
prudent counsaillour Calisthenes / his mozte
valiāt capitayne Philotas / with his father
Parmenio / and diuers other. wherof he so
soze after repented / that oppressed with be-
uines / he had slayne hym selfe / had he nat
bene lette by his seruauntes. wherfore his
furye and inordinate wrathe is a foule and
greuouse blemysse to his glorie / whiche
without that vice / had incomparably excel-
led all other princis.

**The hor-
rible cru-
eltye of
Silla and
Marius.**

who abhorreth or hateth nat the violence
or rage that was in Scilla & Marius: noble
Roma

Romanes / and in their tyme in highest authoritie within the citie / hauyng the gouernance of the more pte of the worlde: Scilla for the malignitie that he hadde towarde Marius / caused the heedes of a thousande and seuen hundred of the chiefe citezens of Rome to be stricken of: and brought to him fresshe bledying & quicke / and thereon fedde his mooste cruell eien: whiche to eate his mouth naturally abhorred. Marius with no lasse rancour inflamed / beside a terrible slaughter that he made of noble men / lea-nyng to Scilla / he also caused Caius Cesar (who had bene bothe Consul and Censor / two of the mooste honorable dignities in the citie of Rome) to be violētly drawen to the sepulture of one Marius / a simple and seditious persone: and there to be dishonestly slayne. with like bestial fury he caused the bed of Marcus Antonius / one of the mooste eloquent oratours of all the Romanes / to be brought vnto hym as he sate at dyner: and there toke the heed all bloody betwene his bandes / & with a malicious countenance reproched hym of his eloquence / wherwith he had nat only defended many an innocēt / but also the hole publike weale had ben by his wyse consultations singularly profited.

Q

The Governour.

O what calamitie hapned to the mooste noble citie of Rome / by the implacabilitie or wrath isaciabie / of these two capitaines / or (as I moughte rather saye) deuils: the nobles betwene them exhaust / the chiuallry almost consumed / the lawes oppressed / and lacking but litle that the publike weale had nat ben extincte / & the citie vtterly desolate.

The vndiscrete hastinesse of the emperour Claudius / caused hym to be noted for foolish be. For meued with wrathe / he caused diuers to be slayne / for whom after he demaunded / and wolde sende for to souper. Nat withstanding that he was right well lerned / and in diuers great affaires appered to be wyse. This discomodities do happen by implacable wrathe: wherof there be examples innumerable.

Pirrus.

Contrary wise / the valiant kynge Pirrus / berynge that two men at a feste & in a great assembly and audience / had openly spoken wordes to his reproche: he meued with displeasure sente for the persones: and when they were come / he demaunded wher they spake of him any suche wordes? wher vnto one of them answered: If (saide he) the wyne had nat the sooner failed vs: all that which was tolde to your highnesse in comparison

parifon of that whiche ſhulde haue bene ſpoken/had ben but trifles. The wiſe prince with that playne confeſſion was mitigate/ and his wraethe conuerted to laughynge.

Julius Ceſar/after his victorie agayne the great Pompei/who had married his daughter/ſittynge in open iugement / one Sergius Balba/one of the nobles of Rome/a frēde vnto Pompei/ſaide vnto hym: I was bounden for thy ſonne in lawe Pompei in a great ſome/whan he was conſul the thirde time: wherfore I am nowe ſued. what ſhall I do? ſhall I my ſelfe pay it: by which wordes he moughte ſeme to reproche Ceſar of the ſellyng of Pompeis goodes/ in defraudinge his creditours. But Ceſar than hauyng a gentill harte and a pacient/was moued with no diſpleaſure towarde Balba: but cauſed Pompeis detty to be diſcharged.

we lacke nat of this vertue domiſticall examples / I meane of our owne kynges of Englande: but moſte ſpecially one / whiche in myne oppinion is to be compared with any that euer was witen of in any region or countray.

The moſte renowned prince kyng Henry the fiſte / late kyng of Englande / duryng the life of his father was noted to be fierce
and

Exemplum
incredibile

The Governour.

and of wanton courage : it hapned that
one of his seruantes/whom he well fauored/
for felony by hym comitted/ was arrayned
at the kynges benche: wherof he being ad-
uertised / and incensed by light persones a-
bout him / in furious rage came bashly to
the barre/where his seruant stode as a pri-
soner : and commaunded hym to be vngyued
and sette at libertie : where at all men were
abasshed / reserued the chiefe iustice / who
humbly exhorted the prince to be contented/
that his seruaunt mought be ordred accor-
dyng to the auncient lawes of this realme :
or if he wolde haue hym saued from the
rigour of the lawes/that he shuld optaine/
if he moughte of the kyng his father his
gracious pdone : wherby no lawe or iustice
shulde be derogate. with whiche answer
the prince norbyng appeased / but rather
more inflamed/endeuored hym selfe to take
away his seruaunt. The iuge consideringe
the perillous example and incouenience that
moughte therby ensue : with a valiant spi-
rite and courage / commaunded the prince v-
pon his alegeance/to leue the prisoner / and
departe his way. with whiche comandmēt
the prince being set all in a fury/all chafed &
in a terrible maner / came vp to the place of
iuge.

(123)
iugement men thinkyng that he wolde haue
flayne the iuge / or haue done to hym some
damage : but the iuge fittynge styll without
mouynge / declarynge the maiestie of the
kynge's place of iugement / And with an as-
sured and bolde countenance / hadde to the
prince these wordes folowynge. Sir remembre
your selfe: I kepe here the place of the king
your soueraigne lord and father / to whom
ye owe double obedience / wherfore eftsones
in his name / I charge you desiste of your
wilfulnes / and vnlawfull entrepryse : & from
henceforth gyue good exaple to those / whiche
hereafter shall be your propre subiectes :
And nowe for your contempt and disobedi-
ence / go you to the prisone of the kynge's
benche / where vnto I comitte you : and re-
mayne ye there prisoner / vntill the pleasure
of the kyng your father be further knowen.
with whiche wordes beinge abasshed / and
also wondrynge at the meruailous grauitie
of that worshipful Justice / the noble prince
layinge his waipon aparte / doinge reuerence
departed / and wente to the kynge's benche /
as he was commaunded. wherat his seruant
disdainyng / came and shewed to the kyng
all the hole affaire. wherat he a whiles stu-
dienge / after as a man all rauished with
glad.

The Countenour.

gladnesse/holdyng his eien and bandes vp
towards heuen / abrayded sayinge with a
loude voice: O mercifull god/bowe moche
am I aboute all other men bounde to your
infinite goodnes: specially for that ye haue
gyuē me a iuge/who feareth nat to minstre
iustice/And also a sonne who can suffre sem-
blably and obey iustice:

Nowe here a man may beholde thre per-
sones worthy excellent memorie: Firste a
iuge / who beinge a subiecte / feared nat to
execute iustice on the eldest sonne of his so-
ueraigne lorde / and by the ordre of nature
his successour. Also a prince and sonne and
heire of the kyng/in the middes of his su-
rre/more considered his iuell example/and
the iuges constance in iustice/than his owne
astate or wylfull appetite. Thirdly a noble
kyng and wyse father / who cōtrary to the
custome of parētes/reioyced to se his sone/
and the heire of his crowne / to be for his
disobedience / by his subiecte corrected.
wherfore I conclude / that nothing is more
honorable / or to be desired in a prince or
noble man / than placabilitie. As contrary
wyse/nothig is so detestable or to be feared
in suche one / as wraethe & cruell malignitie.

What

That a gouernour ought to be mercifull
and the diuersitie of mercye and
vayne pitie. Cap. viij.



Mercede is and hath ben euer of
suche estimation with man-
kynde / that nat onely reason
persuadeth / but also experi-
ence proueth / that in whome
mercye lacketh and is nat founden / in hym
all other vertues be drowned and lose their
iuste cōmendation.

The vice called crueltye / whiche is cōtrary *Crueltye.*
to mercye / is by good reason most odious
of all other vices / in as moche as lyke a
poyson or continual pestilence / it destroyeth
the generation of man. Also the vertues be-
yng in a cruell pson be nat only obfuscate
or hyd : But also lyke wyse as noysshynge
meates and drynkes in a sycke body / do lose
their bountie and augmente the malady :
scimblably diuers vertues in a persone ma-
licious do minystre occasion and assistance
to crueltye.

But nowe to speke of the inestimable price
and value of mercy. Let gouernours / whi-
che knowe that they haue receyued theyr
pouar from aboue / reuolue in their myn-
des /

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des / in what peryll they them selfe bes in
dayly / if in god were nat habundaunce of
mercy : But that as sone as they offende
him greuouly / he shulde immediatly strike
them with his moste terrible darte of ven-
geaunce. All be it yneth any houre passeth:
that men deserue nat some punysshement .

☛ The mooste noble emperours / whiche
for their merites rescuyed of the gentyles
diuine honours / vainquiss hed the great
hartes of their mortall enemyes / in shew-
yng mercy aboue mennes expectation .

Julius Cesar / whiche in policie / eloquence /
celeritie / and prowesse / excelled all other ca-
pitaynes / in mercye onely he surmounted
hym selfe : that is to say / contrary to his
owne affectes and determinate purposes / he
nat onely spared / but also rescuyed into
tendre familiaritie his sworne enemyes .
wherfore if the disdayne of his owne blode
and alyaunce had nat traytourously slayne
him / he had raigned longe & prosperously .

But amonge many other examples of
mercy / wherof the histories of Rome do
abounde / there is one remembred by Se-
neca / whiche may be in the stede of a great
nombre .

Seneca
de Clemē-
tia.

It was reported to the noble emperour
Octo.

Octavius Augustus / that Lucius Linna /
which was suters sone to the great Pompei /
had imagined his dethe : Also that Linna
was appointed to execute his feate / whyles
the emperour was doinge his sacrifice.

Merere
shewed by
Augustus
vntill his
enemye.

This reporte was made by one of the con-
spiratours / & therewith diuers other thiges
agreed: the old hostilitie betwene the houses
of Pompei and Cesar / the wilde & sedicious
witte of Linna / with the place and tyme /
where and whan the emperour shulde be
disfurnished of seruauntes. No wonder
though the emperours mynde were inqui-
ete / beinge in so perilous a conflict / conside-
ryng on the one parte / that if he shulde put
to dethe Linna / whiche came of one of the
moste noble and auncient houses of Rome /
he shulde cuer lyue in daunger / on las he
shulde destroye all that noble familie / and
cause the memorie of them to be vtterly ex-
terminate: whiche mought nat be brought
to passe / without effusion of the bloode of
psones innumerable: and also perile of the
subuersion of the empire / late pacified.

On the other parte / he considered the im-
minent daunger that his persone was in /
wherfore nature stered hym to prouide for
his suertie: wherto he thought than to be

R.ij.

none

The Governour.

none other remedy/ but the deth of his ad-
uersarie. To hym beinge thus perplexed/
came his wife Liuia/ the emperesse/ who said
vnto him : Pleaseth it you sir to here a wo-
mans aduise. Do you as phisitians be wote
to do : where their accustomed remedies
proue nat/ they do assaye the contrarye. By
feueritie ye haue hitherto nothig profited :
proue therfore now what mercy may ad-
uaile you : Forgiue Linna : he is take with
the maynure/ and may nat now indomage
you / pfit he may moche to the increase of
your renome and perpetuell glorie. The
emperour reioysed to hym selfe/ that Linna
had founde suche an aduocatrice : And gy-
uynge her thanks / he caused his counsa-
lours/ whiche he had sente for/ to be couer-
maunded : and calling to hym Linna only/
he comaunded the chambze to be auoyded/
and an other chaire to be sette for Linna :
⁊ that done/ he saide in this maner to hym.
I desire of the this one thyng/ that wyles
I speke/ thou wylt nat let or disturbe me: or
in the middes of my wordes make any ex-
clamation. what tyme Linna I founde the
in the hoste of myne enemyes / all thoughte
thou were nat by any occasion made myne
enemie/ but by succession from thine aunce-
tours

tours borne myne enemye: I nat only saued
the/ but also gaue vnto the all thyn inheri-
taunce: And at this day thou arte so pro-
sperous and riche/ that they/ whiche had
with me victorie/ do enuie the that were
vainquished. Thou as kiddist of me a spi-
rituall promocion/ and furthwith I gaue it
the bifoze many other/ whose parentes had
serued me in warres. And for that I haue
done so moche for the/ thou nowe hast pur-
posed to flee me. At that worde whā Linna
cryed out/ sayenge that suche madnes was
farre from his mynde: Linna (said the em-
perour) thou kepist nat promise: it was co-
uenanted/ that thou shuldest nat interrupt
me. I saye thou preparest to kyll me. And
thereto the Emperour named his compa-
nions/ the place/ tyme/ and ordre of all the
conspiracie/ & also to whom the sworde was
comitted. And whan he perceyued hym
astonied/ holdyng than his peace/ nat for by
cause that he so promised: but that his co-
sciēce him meued. For what intent dyddest
thou thus: (said Augustus) bicause thou
woldest be emperour: In good faithe the
publike weale is in an euill astate/ if nothing
letteth the to raygne/ but I onely: thou
canste nat maintayne or defende thine owne
house

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house: It is nat longe sence that thou in a private iugemēt were ouer cōmen of a poore man/ but late infraunchised: therfore thou mayste nothinge do lightlyer than plede agayne the emperour. Say nowe do I alone let the of thy purpose? Supposeth thou that Paule/ Fabius Maximus/ the Lollies / and Seruilijs / auncient houses of Rome / and suche a sorte of noble men (nat they which haue vayne and glorious names / but suche as for their merites be adorned with their propre images) will suffre the: Finally said the emperour (after that he had talked with hym by the space of two houres) I gyue to the thy lyfe Linna the secōde tyme: fyrst beinge myne enemye / nowe a traytour & murderer of thy soueraygne lorde: whom thou oughtest to loue as thy father. Nowe frō this day let amytie betwene vs two begynne: And let vs bothe contende/ whether I with a better harte haue gyuen to the thy lyfe: or that thou canste more gentilly recōpence my kyndnes.

Sone after Augustus gaue to Linna the dignitie of Consull vnderhired/ blamyng him that he darste nat aske it: wherby he had him moste assured and loyall. And Linna afterwarde dienge gaue to the emperour all
his

his goodes & possessions. And neuer after was Augustus in daunger of any treason.

O what sufficient prayse may be gyuen to this moste noble and prudent emperour / that in a chambre alone / without men / or denaunce / or waipon / and perchaunce without harnes / within the space of .ij. houres / with wordes well couched / tempered with maiestie : nat onely vainquissbed and subdued one mortall enemye / whiche by a malignitie engendred of a domesticall hatred / had determined to flee him : but by the same feate excluded out of the hole cite of Rome all displeasure and rancour towards hym : so that there was nat leste any occasion / wherof mought procede any lytell suspicion of treason : whiche other wyse coulde nat haue hapned without slaughter of people innumerable.

Also the emperesse Liwia may nat of righte be forgotten / whiche ministred to her lorde that noble counsaile in suche a perplexitie : wherby he saued bothe him selfe and his people. Suppose ye that all the Senatours of Rome / & counsaylours of the emperour / which were lytell fewer than a thousande / coulde haue better aduised hym : This historie therfore is no lesse to be remembered

Q.iiij. of

The Governour.

of women than of princes / takynge therby
cōforte to perswade swetely their bus bādes
to mercy and paciēce: to whiche cōsayle
onely / they shulde be admitted & haue free
libertie. But I shal forbere to speke more of
Liua now: for as moche as I purpose to
make a booke onely for ladyes: where in her
laude I shall be more amplie expressed. But
to resorte now to mercy.

Suerly nothinge more entierly and fastly
ioyneth the hartes of subiectes to their
prince or soueraygne than mercy and gen-
tilnes. For Seneca saith / a temperate drede
represseth bygh and sturdy myndes: feare
frequent and sharpe / set forth with extre-
mitie / stereth men to presumption and bar-
dines / and constrayneth them to experimēt
all thinges. He that hastily punissheth / ofte
tymes sone repenteth. And who that ouer
moche correcteth / obserueth none equitie.
And if ye aske me what mercye is / it is a
temperaunce of the mynde of hym that
hath powar to be auenged: and it is cal-
led in latine *Clementia*: and is alway ioyned
with reason. For he that for euery litle oc-
casion is meued with cōpasion / and behol-
dyng a man punisshed condignely for his
offence lamenteth or waileth: is called a
sicke.

Wayne
pittie.

sickenesse of the mynde/where with at this
daye the more parte of men be diseased.
And yet is the sickenesse moche wors by ad-
dyng to one worde / callyng it vaine pitie.

Some man perchauce wyll demaunde of
me/what is vaine pitie: To that I wyll an-
swere in a description of daile experience.
Beholde what an infinite nōbre of englishe
men and women at this present time/wāder
in all places throughout this realme / as
bestis brute and sauage/abandonyng all oc-
cupation/seruice/and honestie: Howe many
semely personagis / by outrage in riotte/ga-
mynge / and excesse of apparaile/be induced
to thefte and robz/and some tyme to mur-
dre / to the inquietation of good men / and
finally to their owne destruction?

Nowe consider semblably: what noble
statutes/ordinances/and actis of counsaile/
from time to time haue bene excogitate/and
by graue studie and mature consultation/
enacted and decreed: as wel for the due pu-
nishment of the saide idle persones and
vacabundes / as also for the suppression of
ynlawfull games / and reducinge apparaile
to conuenient moderation and temperance:
Howe many pclamations therof haue ben
diuulgate/and nat obayed: Howe many cō-

Q.v.

missi.

The Governour.

missions directed/and nat executed? (marke well here / that dissobedient subiectes / and negligent gouernours / do frustrate good lawes) A man herynge that his neighbour is slayne or robbed/furthe with hateth the offendour / and abhorreth his enormitie / thinkyng hym worthy to be punisshed accordyng to the lawes : yet whan he beholdeth the transgressour/a scemely personage/ also to be his seruant/acquaintāce/or a gētīl man borne (I omitte nowe to speke of any other corruption) he furthe with chaūgeth his opinion / and preferreth the offendours condition or personage / before the example of iustice : condempnyng a good & necessary lawe/for to excuse an offence pernicious and damnable / ye and this is nat only done by the vulgare or cōmune people / but moche rather by them / whiche haue autoritie to them cōmitted concernyng the effectuell execution of lawes. They beholde at their eie the continuell encrease of vacabundes/in to infinite nombres / the obstinate resistance of them that dailye do transgresse the lawes made againe games and apparaile/whiche be the streight pathes to robry/& semblable mischiefe. yet if any one cōmissioner/meued with zeale to his countray / accordyng to his
ductie

duetie do execute duely / and frequently the
lawe of good ordinaunce / wherein is any
sharpe punisshement / some of his compa-
nyons therat reboyleth / infamyng hym to
be a man without charitie / calling hym se-
cretely a pike thake / or ambitious of glorie:
and by suche maner of obloquie / they seeke
meanes to bringe hym in to the batede of
people. And this may well be called vayne
pitie: wherein is cōtayned neither iustice nor
yet cōmendable charitie: but rather therby
ensueth negligence / contēpte / disobedience /
and finally all mischiese & incurable misery.

If this sickenesse had reigned amonge the
old Romanes / suppose ye that the astate of
their publike weale had sixe hundred yeres
encreased / & two hundred yeres continued
in one excellent astate and wonderfull ma-
iestie? Or thike ye that the same Romanes
mought so haue ordred many great coun-
trayes / with fewer ministers of iustice / than
be now in one shire of Englande? But of
that mater / and also of rigour and equalite
of punisshement / I wyll traicte more amply
in a place more propise for that purpose.
And here I conclude to write any more at
this tyme of mercy.

The

The Governour.

The thre principall partes of
humanitie. Cap. viij.



The nature & condition of man/
wherin he is lasse than god al-
mightie/ & excellenge nat with-
standing all other creatures in
erthe/ is called humanitie: whi-
che is a generall name to those vertues / in
whome semeth to be a mutuall concorde &
loue/ in the nature of man. And all though
there be many of the said vertues / yet be
there thre principall: by whome humanitie
is chiefly compact/ beneuolence/ beneficence/
& liberalitie/ which maketh vp the said prin-
cipall vertue called benignitie or gentilnes.

Charitie.

Beneuo-
lence.

Loue.
Amicitie.

Beneuolence/ if it do extende to a hole con-
traye or citie / it is proprely called charitie /
and some tyme zeale: and if it concerne one
persone / than is it called beneuolence. And
if it be very seruent & to one singuler pson /
than may it be named loue or amicitie. Of
that vertuous disposition pcedeth an acte /
wherby some thinge is employed / whiche
is profitable & good to him that receyueth
it. And that vertue / if it be in operation / or
(as I mought saye) endeuour / it is called
than beneficence / and the dede (vulgarly
named

named a good tourne) may be called a be-
 nefite. If it be in money/or other thing that
 bath substaunce/it is than called liberalitie:
 whiche is nat alway a vertue as beneficence
 is: for in well doinge (whiche is the right
 interpretation of beneficence) can be no vice
 included. But liberalitie/ thoughbe it pcede
 of a free and gentill harte/wyllinge to do
 some thinge thankfull: yet may it trans-
 gresse the bondes of vertue/eyther in ex-
 cessiue rewardes/or expences: or els em-
 ploiege treasour/promotion/or other sub-
 staunce on psones vnworthy: or on thynges
 inconuenient/and of small importaunce. All
 be it some thinke suche maner of erogation
 nat to be worthy the name of liberalitie.
 For Aristotle defineth a liberal mā to be he
 whiche doth erogate acordinge to the rate
 of his substance / & as oportunitie hapneth.
 He saith also in the same place / that libe-
 ralitie is nat in the multitude or quantite of
 that whiche is gyuen / but in the habite or
 sacion of the gyuer: for he gyueth accor-
 ding to his habilitie. Neyther Tulli ap-
 proueth it to be liberalitie / wherin is any
 mixture of auarice or rapyne: for it is nat
 properly liberalitie / to exacte iniustly / or by
 violence or craft to take goodes from par-
 ticular

Liberal-
itie.Seneca
de benef.

Ethic. 11.

A liberal
man.

The Governour.

ficuler persones / and distribute them in a multitude : or to take from many iniustly / and enriche therwith one persone or fewe. For as the same autour saith: the last precept concerning benefites or rewardes is to take good hede that he cõtende nat agayne equitie / ne that he ypholde none iniurie.

Nowe will I procede seriously & in a due forme to speke more particularly of these thre vertues. Nat withstandinge there is suche affinite bitwene beneficence and liberalitie / beinge always a vertue / that they tende to one conclusion or purpose: that is to saye / with a free & glad wyll to gyue to a nother that thinge which he before lacked.

Of what excellence beneuolence is. Cap. ix.



When I remembre what incomparable goodnes hath euer pceded of this vertue beneuolence / mercifull god what swete flavour fele I persing my spirites / wherof bothe my soule and body to my thinkinge do cõceyue suche recreation / that it semeth me to be in a paradise / or other semblable place of incomparable delites & plea.

pleasures. Firſte I beholde the dignitie of that vertue / conſideringe that god is therby chiefly knowen and honoured both of aungell and man. As contrarie wiſe / the deuill is hated and reſproued both of god & man for his malice / whiche vice is contrarious & repugnaunt to beneuolence. wherefore without beneuolence may be no god. For god is all goodnes / all charite / all loue / whiche holy be comprehended in the ſaide worde beneuolence.

Nowe let vs ſee / where any other vertue may be equall in dignitie with this vertue beneuolence: or if any vertue remayneth / where this is excluded: for what cometh of prudence / where lacketh beneuolence: but diſceite / raine / auarice / and tyzanny. what of fortitude: but beſtely crueltie / oppreſſion / and effuſion of bloode. what iuſtice may there be without beneuolence? ſens the firſt or chiefe porcion of iuſtice (as Tulli ſaieth) is to indomage no man / one las thou be wrongfully vexed. And what is the cauſe hereof / but equall and entier loue: whiche beinge remoued or ceſſing: who endeuoreth nat him ſelfe to take from a nother al thyng that he coueteth: or for euery thyng that diſcontenteth him / wolde nat forthwith be
a veno

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auenged: wherby he confoundeth the vertue called temperance/whiche is the moderatrice as well of all motions of the minde/ called affectes / as of all actis procedyng of man. Here it sufficiētly appereth (as I suppose) of what estimation beneuolence is. Nowe wyll I accordyng to myne accustomed maner/endeuore me to recreate the spirites of the diligent reader / with some delectable histories/wherin is any noble remembrance of this vertue beneuolence/that the worthinesse therof maye appiere in a more playne declaration: for in euery discipliner example is the beste instructour. But firste I will aduertise the reader/that I will nowe write of that beneuolence onely / whiche is moste vniuersall: wherin is equalitie without singuler affection or acceptaunce/of personagis. And here it is to be noted/that if a gouernour of a publike weale / iuge/ or any other ministre of iustice/do gyue sentence agayne one that hath trasgressed the lawes/ or punissheth hym accordig to the qualitie of his trespas: Beneuolence therby is nat any thing perisshed: for the condemnation or punisshement / is either to reduce hym that erreth/in to the trayne of vertue/or to preserve a multitude from damage/by puttinge

That for
sticenes
uer lac
beneuo.
lence.

tyng men in feare / that be prone to offende/
 dreading the sharpe correction / that they be
 holde a nother to suffre. And that maner of
 feueritie is touched by the prophet Dauid
 in the fourthe psalme / sayinge in this wise:
 Be you angry / and loke that you sinne nat.
 And Tulli saith in his first booke of Officis:
 It is to be wisshed / that they / whiche in the
 publike weale haue any autoritie / maye be
 like to the lawes / whiche in correctyng be
 ladde only by equitie / and nat by wraethe or
 displeasure. And in that maner / whā Chore/
 Darban / and Abiron / moued a sedition a-
 gayne Moyses / he praied god that the erth
 mought open and swalowe them : conside-
 ryng that the furye of the people moughte
 nat be by any other meanes asswaged / ne
 they kepte in due rule or obedience.

Rigore
of iustice

Delias the holy propbete of god / dyd his
 owne handes put to deth the prestes of the
 Idol Baal / yet cessed he nat with fastyng /
 praying / longe and tedious pilgrimages / to
 pacifie the displeasure that god toke againe
 the people of Israhel. But to retourne to
 beneuolence.

Delias.

Moyses beinge highly entretayned with
 Pharaon kynge of Aegypte / and so moche in
 his fauour / by the meanes of the kynges

R

suster

The Governour.

suffer/ that (as Iosephus saithe) he beinge
made capitaine of a huge armye/ was sente
by Pharao agayne the Ethiopias or Moo-
res : where he made suche exploiture / that
he nat only atchieued his entreprife/ but al-
so had giuen vnto him for his prowesse/ the
kyngs daughter of Ethiopia to be his wife/
with great abundaunce of riches. And also
for his endeuour/ prowesse/ and wisedome/
was moche esteemed by Pharao and the no-
bles of Egipte : so that he moughte haue
liued there continually in moche honour &
welth/ if he wolde haue preferred his singu-
ler aduaile before the vniuersall weale of
his owne kynred or familie : But he infla-
med with seruēt beneuolēce or zeale toward
them/ to redeme the out of their miserable
bondage / chafe rather to be in the daunge-
rous indignatiō of Pharao : to cōmitte his
persone to the chaungeable myndes of a
multitude/ and they most vnstable : to passe
great & longe iournaies throughe desertes/
replenished with wylde beaustis and veni-
mous serpentes : to suffre extreme hunger
and thirst/ lackynge often tymes nat onely
vitaile/ but also fresshe water to drinke: thā
to be in the palice of Pharao/ where he
shulde haue bene satisfied with honour/
richeſſe/

richesse/and ease/and all other thiges pleasant. who that redeth the booke of Exodi/ shall finde the charitie of this man wonderfull. For whā almightie god/being greuously meued with the children of Jsrahel/ for their ingratitude: for as moche as they often tymes murmured agayne hym/ and yneth moughte be kepte by Moyses from idolatrie: he said to Moyses/that he wold destroye them vtterly/and make hym ruler of a moche greater and better people. But Moyses brenning in a meruailous charite/ towardj them/said vnto god: This people good lorde haue mooste greuouslye sinned: yet either forgyue them this trespas/ or if ye do nat/ strike me clene out of the booke that ye wiate. And diuers other tymes he importunately cried to god for the saulfe garde of them: nat withstāding that many tymes they concluded to haue slayne hym/ if he had nat ben by his wisdomē/ & specially by the powar of god/preserued.

But perauenture some/which seke for ster-
ting holes to mainteine their vices/will ob-
iecte/sayinge that Moyses was a holy pro-
phete/ and a persone electe by predestinatiō
to deliuer the children of Jsrahell out of
captiuitie: which he coulde nat haue done/

R.ij.

if

The Governour.

if he had nat bene of suche pacience & charitie. Therfore let vs se what examples of semblable beneuolence we can finde amonge the gentiles/in whō was no vertue inspired: but that only which natural reaso induced.

whan a furious & wylfull yōge man/in a sedicion had strikē out one of the eyes of kyng Licurgus: wherfore the people wolde haue slaine the transgressour: he wolde nat suffre them: but hauyng him home to his house/ he by suche wise meanes corrected the yōge man / that he at the laste broughte hym to good maners and wisdomē. Also the same Licurge / to the entent that the effecte of his beneuolence / towarde the cōmune weale of his countray mought persist and continue: & that his excellēt lawes beinge stabliss hed/ shulde neuer be alterate/ he dyd let swere al his people / that they shulde chaunge no part of his lawes/vntill he were retourned/ saynyng to them that he wolde go to Delphos/where Apollo was chiefly honoured/ to consulte with that god / what semed to hym to be added to or miniss hed of those lawes/whiche also he sayned to haue receiued of the said Apollo. But finally he went in to the Isle of Crete/where he continued and died/cōmaundyng at his detb/that his bones

bones shulde be cast in to the see/lest if they were brought to Lacedemonia his coutray/ the people shuld thinke them selfe of their othe and promise discharged.

Semblable loue Lodrus/ the last kynge of Athenes / had to his countray. For where the people called Dores (whom some thike to be nowe Sicilians) wolde aduenge their olde grudges agayne the Atheniensis/ they demaunded of some of their goddes/ what successe shulde happen / if they made any warres. Vnto whom answer was made/ that if they slewe nat the kynge of Atheniensis / they shulde than haue the victorie. whan they came to the felde/ straite cōmaūdement was gyuen amonge them / that aboue all thinge / they shulde haue good awaite of the kinge of Athenes / whiche at that tyme was Lodrus. But he before knowing the answer made to the Dores / and what cōmandemēt was giuen to the army : dyd put of his princely habite or robes/ and in apparaille all ragged and rent/ carieng on his necke a bundell of twigges/ entred in to the hoste of his enemies/ and was slayne in the prese by a souldiour/ whom he wouDED with a hooke purposely. But whan it was perceiued & known to be the corps of king

Codrus.
Kynge of
Athenes.

R. iij.

Lodrus

The Governour.

Lodrus / the Dores all dismayed departed
from the felde / without proferynge bataile.
And in this wise the Atheniēsis / by the ver-
tue of their most beneuolent kynge / who for
the saulsgarde of his coutray willigly died /
were clerely deliuered frō bataile. O noble
Lodrus / howe worthy had you ben (if god
had bene pleased) to haue aboden the repa-
ration of mankynde / that in the habite and
religion of a christē prince / ye mought haue
showed your wonderfull beneuolence and
courage for the saulsegarde of christen men /
and to the noble example of other princes :

Curtius.

Lurtius / a noble knight of the Romanes /
had no lasse loue to his countray than Lo-
drus : For sone after the begynnyng of the
citie / there hapned to be a great erth quauer /
⁊ after there remayned a great dell or pitte
without botome / whiche to beholde / was
horrible ⁊ lothsome : and out of it proceded
suche a dampe or ayre / that corrupted all
the citie with pestilēce. wherfore whan they
had couñsailed with suche idols as they thā
worshipped / answer was made / that the
erth shuld nat close / yntill there were thro-
wen in to it the moste precious thinge in the
citie : whiche answer receiued / there was
thrown in riche ieuels of golde ⁊ precious
stone :

stone: but all auailed nat. At the laste Lurtius/beinge a yonge and goodly gentelman/considering that no riches throwen in/profited: he finallye coniected/that the life of man was aboue all thinges moste precious/to thétér the residue of the people mought be saued by his only dethe: he armed bym selfe at all pointes/and sitting on a courser/with his swerde in his hande redy drawen/with a valiaunt and fierce courage enforced his horse to lepe in to the dell or pitte/and furthwith it ioyned to gether and closed/leuyng onely a signe where the pitte was: which longe after was called Lurtius lake.

I passe ouer the two Decius/Marcus Regulus/and many other princes & noble mé/that for the weale of their contraye died willingly: And now wyll I speke of suche as in any other fourme haue declared their beneuolence.

Xenophon the disciple of Plato/wrote the life of Lyzus/kyng of Persia/most elegantly: wherin he expresth the figure of an excellent gouernour or capitayne: he sheweth there/that Craesus the riche king of Lidia/whom Lyzus had taken prisoner/subdued his countray/ & possessed his treasure/saide on a tyme to Lyzus/whan he bebelde his

Cyus
kyng of
Persia
shewing
the power
of beneuo
lence.

R.iiij.

libe.

The Gouvernour.

liberalitie / that suche largenesse as he vsed
shulde bringe hym in pouertie / where if he
lysted / he mought accumulate vp treasure
incomparable: Than Lyrus demaunded of
Croesus / what treasure suppose ye shulde
I now haue / if duryng the tyme of my
raigne I wolde haue gadred & kept money
as ye exhorthe me to do: Than Cresus na-
med a great some. well said Lyrus / sende
ye some mā / whom ye best truste / with Dis-
taspa my seruaut. And thou Distaspa / go
about to my frendes / & shewe them / that I
lacke golde towarde a certayne businesse /
wherfore I wil they shal sēde me as moche
as they can: & that they put it in writinge: &
sēde it sealed by the seruaut of Cresus. In
the same wise Lyrus wrote in a letter: & also
that they shulde receiue Distaspa as his
counsailour and frende / and sent it by hym.
Distaspa / aft that he had done the message
of Lyrus / and was retourned with the ser-
uant of Cresus / who brought letters from
Lyrus frendes: he saide to Lyrus: O sir /
from hens forth loke that ye take me for a
man of great substaunce. For I am highly
rewarded with many great gyftes for brin-
ging your letters. Tha Lyrus at the houre
appointed / ladde with hym kynge Cresus

in to his cape / sayinge to hym / now bebolde
here is our treasure : accouñte if ye can / how
moche money is redy for me / if I haue nede
of any to occupy. whā Cresus bebelde / & re-
kened the innumerable treasure / whiche in
sundry ptes were laide aboute the pauilion
of Cyrus : he soude moche more thā he said
to Cyrus / that he shuld haue in his tresure /
if he him selfe had gadred and kept it. And
whā all appiered sufficiētly / Cyrus thā said /
howe thike you Cresus / haue I nat tresure?
And ye counsailed me that I shulde gadre &
kepe money / by occasion wherof I shuld be
enuied & hated of my people / And more o-
uer put my trust to seruātes hyred to haue
rule therof. But I do all other wise / for in
makig my frendes riche / I take them al for
my tresure / & haue them more sure & trusty
kepers / bothe of me & my substance / than I
shuld do those / whom I must trust only for
their wagis. Lorde god what a notable
historie is this / and worthy to be grauen in
tables of golde : considerynge the vertue
and power of beneuolence therin expressed.
For the beneuolente mynde of a gouer-
nour / nat onely byndeth the hartes of the
people vnto hym / with the chayne of loue
more stronger than any materiall bondes :

R.v.

but

The Governour.

but also gardeth more saulſely his perſones
than any toure or garifon. The eloquent
Off. ii. Tulli ſaith in his officiis : A liberall harte
is cauſe of beneuolence/al though perchāce
that powar ſome tyme lackethe. Contrary
wiſe he ſaith: They that deſire to be feared/
nedes muſt they drede them/of whom they
be feared. Alſo Plini the yonger ſaith : He
that is nat enuironed with charite/ in vaine
is he garded with terrour/ſes armure with
armurc iſtered : whiche is ratified by the
mooste graue philoſopher Seneke in his
boke of mercye/ that he wrate to Nero/
where he ſaith: He is moche deceiued/that
thinketh a man to be ſuer/where nothyng
from hym can be ſaulſe. For with mutuall
aſſuraunce/ſuertie is optained.

In pane-
gyrico.

De cle-
mentia.

Antonin⁹
Pius.

Antoninus Pius emperour of Rome/ ſo
moche tēdred the beneuolēce of his people/
that whan a greatte nombze had conſpired
treason againe him/the Senate being ther-
with greuouſely meued / endeuoured them
to puniſſhe the ſaid conſpiratours : but the
emperour cauſed the examination to ceſſe/
ſayinge / that it ſhulde nat nede to ſeeke to
buſily for thē that intēded ſuche miſchiefe :
leſte if they founde many/ he ſhulde knowe
that many him hated. Alſo whā the people

(for as moch as on a time they lacked corne in their graynardes/wolde haue slaine him with stones) rather thā he wolde haue the sedicious persones to be punished: he in his owne pson declared to them the occasion of the scarfitie / wherwith they beinge pacified/every man belde him contented.

I had almost forgotten a notable & worthy remembraunce of kynge Philip / father to great kynge Alexander. It was on a tyme to him reported/that one of his capitaines had menacing wordes towardj him: wherby it semed he intended some domage towarde his persone. wherfore his counsaile aduised hym / to haue good awayte of the saide capitaine / and that he were put vnder warde: to whom the kynge answered: If any parte of my body were sicke or els sore/whether shuld I therfore cutte it from the residue/and cast it from me/or els endeuour my selfe that it moughte be healed: And than he called for the saide capitaine / and so entretayned hym with familiaritie and bounteous rewardes / that euer after he had hym more assured and loyall / than euer he was.

Agessilaus kynge of Lacedemonia/to hym that demaunded howe a kyng mought most
suerly

Kynge
Philip.

Agessilaus.

The Governour.

The .xxx.
tyrantes
of Athe-
nes.

Strength
lackinge
beneuo-
lence.

Dionysse
kyng of
Sicily.

surely gouerne his realme without souldi-
ours or a garde to his psone : answered : If
he reigned ouer his people/as a father doth
ouer his childre. The citie of Athenes (fro
whes issued al excellēt doctrine & wisdom)
durig the time that it was goṽned by those
psons/vnto whō the people mought haue a
familiar accessse/& boldly expōd their gre-
fes & damagy,pspered merualously/& durig
a lōge seasō/raigned in honour & weale. Af-
warde the Lacedemōs/by the mutabilitie of
fortune/vanq̄shed thē i bataile/& cōmitted
the citie of Athenes to the keepyng of .xxx.of
their owne capitaines/which were for their
pride & auarice called tyrātes. But nowe se
how litle suerte is in great nōbre or strēgth/
wher lacketh beneuolēce. These .xxx. tyrātes
were cōtinuēly eūrōed with sōdry garisōs
of armed mē/which was a terrible visage to
people that before liued vnder the obediēce
of their lawes only. Finally the Atheniēsis/
by fere beig put frō their accustomed accessse
to their gouernours to req̄re iustice/& there
with being fatigate as mē oppressed with cō-
tinual iūrie/toke to thē a desperate corage:
& in cōclusion expelled out of the citie all the
said tyrātes/& reduced it vnto his pristinate
gouernāce. what misery was in the life of

Dio

Dionyse the tyzant of Licile: who knowing
 that his people desired his destructiō/for his
 rauine & crueltie/wold nat be of any mā shā
 uen/but first caused his owne doughters to
 clippe his berde: And aftwarde he also mi-
 strusted thē/ & thā he him selfe with a bren-
 nig cole seared the heres of his berde: & yet
 finally was he destroyed. In like wretched
 nesse was one Alexāder/prince of a citie cal-
 led Pheres/for he hauing an excellent faire
 wyfe/nat only excluded all men frō her cōpa-
 ny/but also as oftē as he wold lie with her/
 certaine psones shulde go before him with
 torchis/& he folowig with his swerde redy
 drawē/wolde therwith enserche the bedde/
 cofers/& all other places of his chābre/lest
 any mā shulde be there hidde/to thētent to
 sle him. And that nat withstādīg by the p-
 curemēt of his said wife (who at the last fa-
 tigate with his most foliss be ialousy/cōuer-
 ted her loue in to batede) he was slaine by
 his owne subiectj. Nowe dothe it appere/
 that this reuerēde v̄tue beneuolēce is of all
 mē/most specially of gouernors & mē of ho-
 nour/icōparably before other to be ēbraced.
 Kyng Philip whā he herd that his sōne A-
 lexāder/vsed a meruailous liberalite amōge
 the people/be set to him a lettre/wberin he
 wrate

Alexand.
 Pheres

The Governour.

wrote in this wise : Alexander what puerse opinion hath put the in suche hope / that thou thikest to make them loyall vnto the / whom thou with money corruptest / considering that the receiueur therof is therby appaired / beinge trained by thy prodigalitie to loke and gape alway for a semblable custom: And therfore the treasure of a gentle countenance / swete answeres / ayde in aduersitie / nat with money onely / but also with studie and diligent endeouour / can neuer be wasted : ne the loue of good people therby acquired / can be from their hartes in any wise seperate. And here I make an ende to speke any more at this tyme of beneuolence.

Of beneficence and liberalitie. Cap. x.



Althoughe philosophers in the description of vtues haue deuised to set them as it were in degrees / hauing respecte to the qualitie and condition of the persone / whiche is with them adourned: as applyinge Magnificence to the substance and estate of princes / and to priuate persones Beneficence and Liberalitie : yet be nat these in any parte defalcate of their condigne

Aristot.
Ethic. i.

condigne praifes. For if vertue be an election annexed vnto our nature/and consisteth in a meane/which is determined by reason: and that meane is the verye myddes of two thynges viciouse / the one in surplusage/ the other in lacke. Than nedes must beneficēce and liberalitie be capitall vertues / and magnificence pcedeth from them/approching to the extreme partes. And may be tourned in to vice / if he lacke the bridle of reason. But beneficēce can by no meanes be vicious / & retaine still his name. Semblably liberalite (as Aristotle saith) is a measure/as well in gyuing as in takyng of money & goodes. And he is only liberall/whiche distributeth accordyng to his substance / and where it is expedient. Therfore he ought to consider to whom he shulde gyue / howe moche / and whan. For liberalitie taketh his name of the substance of the persone from whom it procedeth : for it resteth nat in the quantite or qualitie of thinges that be gyuen : but in the naturall disposition of the gyuer.

The great Alexander on a tyme/after that he had vainquished Darius in bataile/one of his souldiours broughte vnto hym the bede of an enemye that he had slayne: whiche the kynge thankfully/ and with sweete counten-

Surplusage

Beneficence.

Liberalitie.

Alexander.

The Beneficent.

Prodiga-
lyne.

assistance in tyme of nede / shall alway fynde
coadiutours & supportours of their gentyll
courage. And doubtles that maner of gen-
tilnesse that consisteth in labour / studie / and
diligence / is more cōmendable / & extendeth
further / & also may more profite parsones
than that whiche resteth in rewardes and
expences. But to retourne to liberalitie.

what greater soly may be / thā that thinge
that a man most gladly dothe / to endeuour
him with all studie / that it may no lenger
be done / wherfore Tulli calleth them pro-
digall / that in inordinate feastes and ban-
kettcs / vayne playes / and huntinges / do
spende al their substance / & in those thinges /
wherof they shall leave but a shorte or no
remembraunce. wherfore to resorte to the
cōsaile of Aristotle before expressed : Nat-
withstādinge that liberalitie in a noble man
specially / is cōmended / all though it som-
what do excede the termes of measure : yet
if it be well and duely employed / it acquireth
parpetuall honour to the giuer / and moche
frute and singuler cōmoditie therby encrea-
seth. For where boneste and vertuous par-
sonages be aduanced / and well rewarded /
it sterith the courages of men / whiche haue
any sparke of verrue / to encrease therein
with

with all their force and endeuour. wherfore
 nexte to the helpinge and relieuinge of a co-
 munitie the great part of liberalitie is to
 be employed on men of vertue & good qua-
 lities: wherein is required to be a good ele-
 ction & iugement that for hope of rewarde
 or fauour vnder the cloke of vertue / be nat
 bidde the moste mortall poysone of flaterie,

The true discription of amitie or
 frendship. Cap. xi.



I haue all redy treated of bene-
 uolence and beneficence gene-
 rally. But for als moche as
 frendship / called in latine *Ami-
 citia* / cōprehendeth bothe those
 vertues more specially / & in an higher de-
 gree / and is nowe so infrequent or straunge
 amonge mortall men / by the tyrannie of co-
 uetise & ambition / whiche haue longe re-
 igned / and yet do / that amitie may nowe
 ynethe be knowen / or founden throughout
 the worlde by them that seeke for her as
 diligently / as a mayden wolde seeke for a
 small siluer pinne in a great chāber strawed
 with white russes: I will therfore borowe
 so moche of the gentle redar / thoughte be

S.ij.

be

The Sonetmons.

C. offi. 1.

be nigh wery of this longe mater/ barrayne
of eloquence and pleasaunt sentence : & de-
clare some what by the way of very & true
frendshipp. whiche perchaunce may be an
allectife to good men to seeke for their sem-
blable/on whom they may practise amitie.
For as Tulli saieth : Nothinge is more to
be loued/or to be ioyned to gether / than si-
militude of good maners or vertues:where
in be the same or seblable studies / the same
willes or desires : in them it hapneth / that
one in an other as moche deliteth as in him-
selfe. But nowe let vs enserche what frend-
shipp or amitie is .

Ethie. vi.

Tulli de
Amicitia

Aristotle saieth / that frendshipp is a vertue/
or ioyneth with vertue / whiche is affirmed
by Tulli / sayenge that frendshipp can nat be
without vertue / ne but in good men onely.
who be good men / he after declareth to be
those parsones / whiche so do beare them-
selfes/and in suche wyse do lyue / that their
faith / suertie / equalitie / and liberalitie / be
sufficiently proued . Ne that there is in the
any couetise/wilfulnes / or foole hardinesse :
and that in them is great stabilitie or con-
staunce : them suppose I (as they be taken)
to be called good men / whiche do folowe
(as moche as men may) nature / the chiefe
capi-

capitayne or guide of mannes lyfe. Moreover the same Tulli defineth frendshipp in this maner/sayenge: That it is none other thinge/ but a perfecte consent of all thinges appertayninge as well to god as to man/ with beneuolence & charitie: And that he knoweth nothunge giuen of god (except sapience) to man more comodius. which definition is excellent & very true. For in god/ and all thinge that cometh of god/ nothing is of more greater estimation than loue/ called in latine Amoz/ whercof Amicitia cometh/ named in englishe frendshippe or amitie: the whiche taken a way from the lyfe of man/ no house shall abide standinge/ no felde shall be in Culture: And that is lightly perceiued/ if a man do remember what cometh of dissention and discorde/ finally he semeth to take the sonne from the worlde/ that taketh frendshippe from mannes life.

Sens frendshippe can nat be but in good men/ ne may nat be without vertue: we may be assured/ that therof none iuell may procede/ or therewith any iuell thinge may participate. wherfore in as moche as it may be but in a fewe parsones (good men being in a small nomber). And also it is rare and
S. iij. feldome

The Countenances

seldome (as all vertues be comūely) I will declare after the opinion of Philosophers / & partly by comūe experience / who amonge good men be of nature moste apte to frendshipp.

Betwene all men that be good / can nat all way be amitie / but it also requireth that they be of semblable or moche like maners or studie / and specially of maners. For grauitie and affabilitie / be euery of them laudable qualities : So be seueritie and placabilitie : Also magnificence and liberalitie be noble vertues : And yet frugalitie / whiche is a sobrenesse or moderation in livinge / is that for good cause / of al wise men extolled. yet where these vertues and qualities be seperately in sondry parsones assembled / may well be perfecte concorde : but frendshipp is there seldome or neuer : for that / whiche the one for a vertue embraceth / the other contemneth / or at the leste neglecteth. wherfore it semeth / that wherein the one delighteth / it is to the other repugnant vnto his nature : And where is any repugnaunce / may be none amitie / sens frendshipp is an entier consent of willes and desires. Therfore it is seldome sene / that frendshipp is betwene these parsones / a man sturde / of opinion

pinion inflexible/and of soure countenance
and speche/with him that is tractable/ and
with reason persuaded/ and of swete coun-
tenaunce and entretaynement. Also betwene
him which is eleuate in autoritie/ and a no-
ther of a very base estate or degree: ye and
if they be bothe in an equall dignitie/ if they
be desirous to klyme: As they do ascende/
so frendship for the more parte decayeth.
For as Tully saith/ in his firste booke of
offices: what thing so euer it be/ in the whi-
che many can nat excell or haue therein su-
perioritie: therein often tymes is suche a
contencion/ that it is a thinge of all other
moste difficile to kepe amonge them good
or vertuous company: that is as moche to
say as to retayne amonge them frendship
and amitie. And it is often tymes sene/ that
diuers/ which before they came in autoritie/
were of good & vertuous condicions/ beinge
in their prosperitie were vterly chaunged:
& dispisinge their olde frendes/ set all their
studie and pleasure on their newe acquain-
taunce/ wherein men shall perceiue to be a
wonderfull blindnes/ or (as I mought say)
a madnesse: if they note diligently all that I
shall here after write of frendshippe. But
nowe to resorte to speke of them/ in whom
S. iij. frend.

The Countenour.

friendship is most frequent / & they also thereto
be most aptly disposed. Undoubtedly it
be specially they / whiche be wyse and of na-
ture inclined to beneficence / liberalitie / and
constance: for by wysedome is marked and
substantiallly decerned the wordes / actes / &
demeanure of all men / betwene whom hap-
neth to be any entrecourse or familiaritie:
whereby is ingendred a fauour or disposi-
tion of loue. Beneficence that is to say mu-
tually puttinge to their studie and helpe in
necessary affaires / induceth loue: They that
be liberall do with holde or hyde nothinge
from them whom they loue: wherby loue
increaseth. And in them that be constante /
is neuer mistrust or suspition: nor any sur-
mise or euell reporte can withdrawe them
from their affection: And hereby friendship
is made perpetuall and stable. But if sim-
ilitude of studie or lerninge be ioyned vnto
the said vertues / friendship moche rather
happeth: and the mutuall enteruewe & con-
uersation is moche more pleasant: speci-
ally if the studies haue in the any delectable
affection or motion. For where they be to
serious or full of contention: friendship is
oftentimes assaulted / whereby it is often in
perile. where the studie is elegant / and the
mater

mater illecebrous / that is to say swete to
the redar / the course wherof is rather gen-
till persuation and quicke reasoninges / than
ouer subtil argumentes or litigious con-
trouersies : there also it hapneth that the
studentes do delite one in a nother / and be
without enuie or malicious contention .

Nowe let vs trie out what is that frende-
shippe / that we suppose to be in good men :
Verely it is a blessed and stable connexion
of sondrie willes / makinge of two parsones
one in hauinge and suffringe . And therfore
a frende is pprely named of Philosophers
the other J . For that in them is but one
mynde and one possession : and that / which
more is / a man more reioiseth at his frēdes
good fortune than at his owne .

Diocetes and Pilades / beinge wonderfull
like in all features / were taken to gither and
presented vnto a tyrant / who deedly hated
Diocetes : but whā he behelde them bothe
and wolde haue slayne Diocetes onely / he
coule nat decerne the one from the other :
And also Pilades / to deliuer his frende /
affirmed that he was Diocetes on the other
parte Diocetes / to saue Pilades / denied and
said / that he was Diocetes (as the trouthe
was .) Thus a longe tyme they togither co-

S.v. tendinge /

The Countenour.

Pitheas
& Damo.

tendinge the one to die for the other / at the
laste so relented the fierse & cruell harte of
the tyrant : that wondringe at their mer-
uailous frends hip / he suffred them frely to
depte / without doinge to the any damage.
Pitheas and Damon / two Pythagoriens /
that is to say studentes of Pythagoras le-
ninge / beinge ioyned to gither in a parfekte
frends hip : for that one of them was accu-
sed to haue conspired agayne Dionyse king
of Sicile / they were bothe taken / & brought
to the kinge : who immediately gaue sen-
tence / that he that was acused shulde be
put to dethe : But he desired the kinge that
er he died he mought retourne home to set
his householde in ordre : and to distribute
his goodes. wherewith the kinge laughinge /
demaunded of him skornefully / what pledge
he wolde leaue hym to come agayne. At
the whiche wordes his companyon stepte
furthe and saide / that he wolde remayne
there as a pledge for his frende : that in case
he came nat agayne at the daye to hym ap-
pointed / that he wyllingly wolde lose his
hede : whiche condicion the tyrant recey-
ued. The yongeman that shuld haue died
was suffred to departe home to his house :
where he set all thinge in ordre / & disposed
his

his goodes wisely: the day appointed for
his retourne was comen / the tyme moche
passed. wherfore the kyng called for him
that was pledge: who came furthe merely
without semblaunte of drede / offringe to
abide the sentence of the tyraunt / and with-
out grudginge to die for the sauinge the life
of his frende. But as the officer of iustyce
had closed his eien with a kerchiefe / & had
drawen his swerde to haue striken of his
bedde: his felowe came runninge & cryenge /
that the daye of his appointment was nat
yet past. wherfore he desired the minister of
iustice to lose his felowe / & to prepare to do
execution on hym / that had giuen the occa-
sion: wherat the tyraunt being all abasshed:
comaunded bothe to be brought in his pre-
sence: and whan he had ynough wondred
at their noble hartes and their constance in
very frendship / he offring to them great re-
wardes / desired them to receyue hym into
their company: and so doinge them moche
honour / dyd set them at liberte. Vndough-
tedly that frendship which dothe depende
either on profite or els in pleasure / if the ha-
bilitie of the parson / whiche mought be
profitable / do fayle or diminish be / or the dis-
position of the parson / whiche shulde be
plea-

The Gouernour.

pleasunt do chaunge or appayre / the seru-
uentnesse of loue celseth : and t ban is there
no frendship.

The wonderfull history of Titus & Gisip-
pus / & whereby is fully declared the
figure of perfect amitie. Cap. xij.

BUt nowe in the middes of my
labour / as it were to pause and
take brette / & also to recreate
the reders / which fatigate with
longe pceptes / desire varietie
of mater / or some newe pleasunt fable or
bistorie. I will reberce a right goodly ex-
ample of frendship. whiche ex ample stu-
dioufely radde / shall minstre to the reders
singuler pleasure / and also incredible com-
forte to practise amitie.

There was in the cite of Rome a noble se-
natour named Fuluius / who sent his sone /
called Titus / beinge a childe / to the cite of
Arbenes in Greece (whiche was the foun-
taine of al maner of doctrine) there to lerne
good letters : and caused him to be hosted
with a worshipfull man of that cite called
Lhemes. This Lhemes hapned to haue
also a sone named Gisippus / who nat onely
was

was equall to the said yonge Titus i yeres/
but also in stature/proporcion of body / sa-
uour/and colour of visage / countenaunce &
specbe. The two children were so like / that
without moche difficultie it coulde nat be
discerned of their propre parentes / whiche
was Titus from Sysippus / or Sysippus
from Titus. These two yonge gentlemen /
as they semed to be one in fourme and per-
sonage/so shortly after acquaintaunce/the
same nature wrought in their hartes suche
a mutuall affection / that their willes and
appetites daily more and more so confede-
rated them selves/that it semed none other/
whan their names were declared / but that
they hadde onely chaunged their places /
issuinge (as I mought saye) out of the one
body/and entringe in to the other. They to-
gether / and at one tyme went to their lea-
ninge & studie/at one tyme to their meales &
refection/they delited bothe i one doctrine /
and profited equally therein:finally they to-
gether so increased in doctrine / that within
a fewe yeres/fewe within Athens mought
be compared vnto them. At the laste died
Ebrems/whiche was nat only to his sones
but also to Titus cause of moche sorowe &
beuineffe. Sysippus by the goodes of his
father

The Governour.

father was known to be a man of great
substaunce: wherfore there were offered to
hym great and riche mariages. And he thā
beinge of ripe yeres & of an habile & goodly
parsonage. His frendes/kynne/and alies ex-
horted hym busely to take a wyfe/to the in-
tent he mought increase his lygnage & pro-
genie. But the yonge man hauinge his hart
all redy wedded to his frende Titus / & his
mynde fixed to the studie of Philosophie /
fearinge that mariage shulde be the occasi-
on to seuer hym bothe from thone and
thother / refused of longe tyme to be per-
swaded: vntill at the last partly by the im-
portunate callynge on of his kynnesmen /
partly by the consent and aduise of his dere
frende Titus / therto by other desired / he
assented to mary suche one as shulde lyke
hym. what shal I nede many wordes: his
frendes founde a yonge gentilwoman / whi-
che in equalitie of yeres / vertuous condi-
cions / nobilitie of blode / beautie and suffi-
cient riches / they thought was for suche a
yonge man apte and conuenient. And whan
they and her frendes vpon the couenautes
of mariage were througely accorded / they
counsailed Sysippus to repayre vnto the
mayden: and to beholde howe her person
con-

contented hym: and he so doinge founde
her in euery fourme and condicion accor-
dinge to his expectation & appetite: wherat
he moche reioyed/and became of her amo-
rouse / in so moche as many & often tymes
he leauinge Titus at his studie/secretely re-
payzed vnto her. That withstandinge the ser-
uent loue that he had to his frende Titus/at
the last surmounted shamefastnes. wherfore
he disclosed to him his secreete iournayes: &
what delectacion he toke in beboldinge the
excellent beautie of her whom he purposed
to mary: and howe with her good maners
& swete entretaynement/ she had constrained
hym to be her louer. And on a tyme/ he ha-
uynge with hym his frende Titus / went to
his lady/ of whom he was resceyued mooste
ioyously. But Titus furtwith as he be-
helde so beuenly a psonage/ adourned with
beautie inexplicable / in whose visage was
mooste amiable countenaunce / mixte with
maydenly shamefastnesse/ and the rare and
sobre wordes/ & well couched/ whiche issued
out of her pratie mouthe/ Titus was therat
abasshed/ and had the harte through pced
with the firy darte of blinde Cupide: of the
whiche wounde the anguiss he was so exce-
dinge and yebement/ that neither the study
of

The Governour.

of Philosophie/ neyther the remembraunce
of his dere frende Gysippus/ who so moche
loued and trusted hym/ coude any thinge
withdrawe hym from that vnkynde appe-
tite/ but that of force he must loue inordi-
nately that lady/whom his said frende had
determined to mary. All be it with incre-
dible paynes he kepte his thoughtes se-
crete/vntyll that he and Gysippus were re-
toured vnto their lodgynges. Than the
miserable Titus withdrawynge hym as it
were to his studie/ all turmented and op-
pressed with loue/ threwe hym selfe on a
bedde/and there rebukynge his owne mozte
despitefull vnkynndnesse/ whiche by the so-
dayne sight of a mayden/ he had cōspired
agayne his mozte dere frende Gysippus/
agayne all humanitie and reason/ he cursed
his fate or constellation/ and wiss bed that
he had neuer comen to Athenes. And there
with he sent out from the botome of his
harte depe & colde sighes/ in suche plentie/
that it lacked but litle that his harte ne
was riuen in peces. In dolour & anguiss he
tossed he hym selfe by a certayne space: but
to no man wolde he discover it. But at the
last the payne became so intollerable/ that
wolde he or no/ he was inforced to kepe his
bedde/

bedde/beinge for lacke of slepe & other naturall sustenance: brought in suche feblenesse / that his legges mought nat sustayne his body. Gylippus missyng his dere frēde Titus / was moche abasshed / & beringe that he laye sicke i his bedde had furthwith his barte perced with beuinesse / and with all spede came to hym where he laye. And beholding the rosiall colour / which was wont to be in his visage / tourned in to salowe / the residue pale / his ruddy lippes wanne / & his eyen ledy and bolowe / Gylippus mought yneth kepe hym selfe from wepyng / but to thentent he wolde nat discomfort his frēde Titus / he dissimuled his heuynesse / & with a comfortable countenance demaunded of Titus what was the cause of his disease / blamyng him of vnkynndenesse / that he so longe had sustayned it without geuing him knowlege / that he mought for him haue puided some remedie / if any mought haue be gotten / though it were with the dispendinge of all his substaunce: with whiche wordes the mortall sighes renewed in Titus / and the salte teares brast out of his eien in suche habundaūce / as it had ben a lande flode runnyng downe of a mountayne after a storme: that beholdinge Gylippus / and
T beinge

The Conernour.

beinge also resolued in to teares/moste hartely desired hym/and (as J mought saye) coniuured him/that for the seruent and entier loue that had ben ⁊ yet was betwene them/ he wolde no lenger hyde frō him his griefe: and that there was nothing to him so dere or precious (all though it were his owne life) that mought restore Titus to helthe/ but that he shulde gladly ⁊ without grutchinge employe it . with whiche wordes / obtestatiōs/ and teares of Sylippus/Titus constrayned / all bluffhinge and asbamed/ holdinge downe his hedde/ brought furthe with great difficultie his wordes in this wyse . My dere and moste louynge frende / withdrawe your frendely offers / cease of your courtaisie / refrayne your teares ⁊ regrettinges/take rather your knyfe and slee me here where J lye/or otherwise take vengeance on me / moste miserable and false traytour vnto you / and of all other moste worthy to suffre moste shamefull dethe . For where as god of nature / lyke as he hath giuen to vs similitude i all the ptes of our body / so had he conioyned our willes / studies ⁊ appetites to gether in one/ so that betwene two men was neuer lyke concorde and loue/as J suppose:And now nat withstandinge/

The wordes of Titus to Sylippus.

standinge/onely with the loke of a woman/
those bondes of loue be dissolued / reason
oppressed/fredship is excluded / there auai-
leth no wisdom / no doctrine / no fidelitie
or truste : ye your truste is the cause that I
haue conspired agayne you this treason .
Alas Sycippus what enuious spirite me-
ued you to bringe me with you to her / who
ye haue chosen to be your wyfe / where I
receyued this poison ? I saye Sycippus /
where was than your wisdom / that ye re-
membred nat the fragilitie of our comune
nature ? what neded you to call me for a wit-
nesse of your priuate delites ? why wolde ye
haue me see that / whiche you youre selfe
coule nat beholde without rauissbinge of
mynde and carnall appetite ? Alas why for-
gate ye / that our myndes & appetites were
euer one ? & that also what so ye lyked was
euer to me in lyke degree pleasaunt . what
will ye more ? Sycippus I saye / your trust
is the cause that I am intrapped / the rayes
or beames issuinge from the eyen of her /
whome ye haue chosen / with the remem-
braunce of her incomparable vertues / hath
thrulled throughout the middes of my hart /
and in suche wise brenneth it / that aboue all
things I desire to be out of this wretched

The Gouernour.

and moſte ynkinde lyfe / whiche is nat wor-
thy the company of ſo noble and louynge a
frende as ye be. And therewith Titus con-
cluded his confeſſion with ſo proſoūde and
bitter a ſigh / receyued with teares / that it
ſemed that al his body ſhulde be diſſolued
and relented in to ſalt dropes .

The an-
ſwere of
Sylippus.

But Sylippus as he were there with no-
thyng aſtonyed or diſcontented / with an
aſſured countenaunce / and mery regarde /
imbracing Titus / and kiſſynge him / anſwe-
red in this wyſe . why Titus / is this youre
onely ſickenefſe and grieve / that ye ſo yncur-
teſely haue ſo longe counceiled / and with
moche more ynkyndneſſe kept it from me /
than ye haue conceyued it ? I knowlege my
foly / wherwith ye haue with good right
imbrayded me / that in ſhowing to you her /
whom I loued / I remēbred nat the cōmune
aſtate of our nature / ne the agreableneſſe /
or (as I mought ſaye) the vnitie of our
two appetites : ſuerly that defaulte can be
by no reaſon excuſed . wherfore it is onely
I / that haue offended . For who may by
right proue that ye haue trespaſed / that by
the ineuitable ſtroke of Cupides darte are
thus bitterly wouēd ? thinke ye / me ſuche
a ſole or ignorant pſone / that I knowe nat
the

the power of Venus / where she listeth to
shewe her importable violence: haue nat ye
well resisted agayne suche a goddesse / that
for my sake ye haue striuen with her all
moſte to the dethe? what more loyaltie or
trouthe can I require of you? am I of that
vertue / that I may reſiſte agayne celeftiall
influence preordinate by puidence diuine? if
I ſo thought / what were my wittes? where
were my studie ſo longe tyme ſpent in noble
Philoſophie? I confeſſe to you Titus / I
loue that mayden as moche as any wiſe mā
mought poſſible: and toke in her companye
more delite & pleaſure than of all the trea-
ſure and landes that my father leſte to me /
whiche ye knowe was right abundaunt.
But nowe I perceyue / that the affection of
loue towarde her ſurmoūtet in you aboue
meaſure / what ſhal I thinke it of a wanton
luſt / or ſodayne appetite in you / whome I
haue euer knowne of graue and ſadde diſ-
poſition / inclyned alway to honeſt doctrine /
ſleinge all vayne daliaunce & diſhoneſt paſſe
tyme? Shall I imagine to be in you any
malice or fraude / ſens from the tendre tyme
of our chilbode / I haue alway founden in
you / my ſwete frende Titus / ſuche a confor-
mitie with all my maners / appetites / & de-
ſires /

The Governour.

fires / that neuer was sene betwene vs any
maner of cōtention? Nay god forbede that
in the frendshippe of Gylippus and Titus
shulde happen any suspition: or that any
fantasie shulde perce my hedde / whereby
that honorable loue betwene vs shulde be
the mountenaunce of a cromme / perissbed.
Nay nay Titus / it is (as I haue said) the
onely prouidence of god: she was by hym
from the beginnyng prepared to be your
lady and wife. For suche feruent loue en-
treth nat in to the barte of a wise man & ver-
tuous / but by a diuine disposition: whereat
if I shulde be discontented or grudge / I
shulde nat onely be iniuste to you / withhol-
dinge that from you whiche is vndough-
tedly youre: but also obstinate and repug-
nant agayne the determination of god /
whiche shall neuer be founden in Gylip-
pus. Therefore gentill frende Titus / dismay
you nat at the chaunce of loue / but receyue
it ioyously with me / that am with you no-
thinge discōtented / but meruailous gladder
sens it is my happe to finde for you suche a
lady / with whome ye shall lyue in felicitie /
& receyue frute to the honour and comfort
of all your linage: here I renounce to you
clerely all my title and interest / that I nowe
haue

haue or mought haue in that faire mayden. Call to you your pristinate courage / wass be cleene your visage and eyen thus biwept / and abandone all beuinesse: the day appointed for our mariage approcheth: let vs consult / howe without difficultie ye may holy attayne your desires. Take bedde / this is myne aduise / ye knowe well / that we two be so like / that beinge a parte and in one apparayle / fewe men do knowe vs. Also ye do remembre / that the custome is / that natwithstandinge any ceremony done at the tyme of the spousayles / the mariage natwithstandinge is nat confirmed / vntyll at night that the busbade putteth a rynge on the finger of his wyfe / & vnloseth her girdell. Therefore I my selfe will be present with my frendes / & perfourme all the ptes of a bride. And ye shall abyde in a place secreete / where I shall appoint you / vntill it be nyght. And than shall ye quickly conuaye your selfe in to the maidens chambere: and for the similitude of our parsonages / & of our apparaile / ye shall nat be espied of the women / whiche haue with none of vs any acquaintaunce: and shortly gette you to bedde / and put your owne rynge on the maydens synger / and vndo her gyrdell of

L.iiij. virgi

The Countenour.

virginite/and do all other thinge/that shall
be to your pleasure. Be nowe of good chere
Titus/and comfort your selfe with good re
fections and solace/that this wan and pale
colour/and your cheeke meigre and leane/
be nat the cause of your discoveringe: I
knowe well/that ye hauinge your purpose/
I shall be in obloqui & derision of all men:
and so bated of all my kynrede/that they
shall seke occasion to expulſe me out of this
citie/ thinking me to be a notable reproche
to al my familie. But let god therein warke.
I force nat what payne that I abyde/so
that ye my frende Titus may be saulſe/and
pleasauntly enioy your desires/to the in
creasinge of your felicitie.

with these wordes Titus began to meue/
as it were out of a dreame/and doughtinge
whither he harde Gysippus speke/or els
sawe but a vision/ laye styll as a man a
basshed. But whan he bebelde the teares
trickelinge downe by the face of Gysippus/
he than recomforted hym/and thankinge
him for his incomparable kyndnesse/refur
sed the benefite that he offred/sayenge that
it were better that a hundred suche vnkynde
wretches/as he was/shulde perisshe/than
so noble a man as was Gysippus shulde
sustayne

sustayne reproche or damage. But Gysippus eftsones comforted Titus / & therewith sware and protested / that with free & glad will he wolde that this thinge shulde be in fourme aforesaid accōplish bed / & therewith inbraced and swetely kyssed Titus . who perceyuinge the mater suer and nat sayned / as a man nat sicke / but onely a waked out of his slepe / he set hym selfe vp in his bedde / the quicke bloode somewhat resorted vnto his visage / and after a litle god meates and drinckes taken / he was shortly and in a fewe daies restored in to his olde facion & figure. To make the tale shorte . The day of marriage was cōmen . Gysippus accompanied with his alyes & frendes / came to the house of the damosel where they were honorably and ioyously fested . And betwene him and the mayden was a swete entretaynement / which to beholde all that were presēt toke moche pleasure and comfort / praysinge the beautie / goodlynesse / vertue / and curtesie / whiche i those couples were excellent aboue all other that they hadde euer sene . what shall I saye more ? the couenauntes were radde and sealed / the dower appointed / & al other bargaynes concluded / & the frendes of either parte toke their leaue & departed :

L.v. the

The Gouernour.

the bride/with a fewē women (as was the
custome) brought in to her chambze : than
(as it was before agreed) Titus conueyed
him selfe after Gysippus retourned to his
house / or parchaunce to the chambze ap-
poynted for Titus / nothyngē sorrowfull all
though that he hartely loued the mayden:
but with a glad harte and countenaunce /
that he had so recovered his frende from
dethe / & so well brought hym to the effecte
of his desire. Nowe is Titus in bedde with
the mayden / nat knowen of her / nor of any
other / but for Gysippus . And first he swe-
tely demaūded her / if that she loued hym /
and dayned to take hym for her husbāde /
forsaking all other / which she all blusshing
with an eye halfe laughinge halfe mour-
ninge (as in poynte to depte from her may-
denbede / but supposinge it to be Gysippus
that asked her) affirmed : & than he eftsones
asketh her / if she in ratifiēge that promise
wolde receyue his rynge / whiche he hadde
there all redy : wherto she consentynge /
putteth the rynge on her synger / & vnloseth
her gyrdell : what thinge els be dyd / they
two onely knewe it : of one thing I am suer /
that night was to Titus more comfortable /
than euer was the lengest daye of the yere /
ye and

ye and I suppose a hole yere of dayes. The morowe is comen. And Gysippus thinking it to be expedient / that the trouthe shulde be discovered / assembled all the nobilitie of the citie at his owne house : where also by appointment was Titus : who amōge them had these wordes that do folowe .

My frendes Atheniensis / there is at this tyme shewed amōge you an example all moste incredible of the diuine powar of honorable loue / to the perpetuall renoume & cōmendation of this noble citie of Athenes / wherof ye ought to take excellent cōfort / & therfore gyue due thanks to god / if there remayne amōge you any token of the ancient wisdom of your moste noble progenitours. For what more prayse may be gyuen to people / than beneuolence / faithfulness / and constaunce : without whome all contrayes and cities be brought vnto desolation and ruyne / lyke as by them they become prosperous / & in moste bygbe felicitie. what shall I longe tary you in coniectyng myne intent & meaninge : ye all knowe from whens I came vnto this citie / that of aduenture I founde in the house of Chremes his sone Gysippus / of myne owne age / and in every thing so lyke to me / that neyther

his

The oration of Titus to the Atheniensis.

The Governour.

his father nor any other man coulde discern of vs the one from the other / but by our owne insignement or showinge: in so moche as there were put about our neckes laces of sondry colours to declare our personages. what mutuall agreement & loue haue ben alwaye betwene vs duryng the eight yeres that we haue ben to gether / ye all be witnesses / that haue ben beholders & wonderars of our moste swete conuersation and cōsent of appetites / wherein was neuer any discorde or variaunce. And as for my parte / after the decease of my father nat withstandinge that there was descended & hapned vnto me great possession / fayre houses with abundaunce of riches . Also I beinge called home by the desirous & importunate letters of myne alyes & frendes / whyche be of the moste noble of all the senatours / offred the aduācement to the highest dignities in the publike weale . I will nat remembre the lamentations of my moste naturall mother / expressed in her tender letters / all be spent and blotted with abundaunce of teares / wherein she accuseth me of vnkyndenesse for my longe taryenge : and specially nowe in her mooste discomforte . But all this coulde nat remoue me the breade of my
nayle

nayle from my dere frende **Sylippus**. And
but by force coulde nat. **J** / nor yet may be
drawen from his swete company : but if he
therto will consent. **J** chosynge rather to
lyue with hym as his companyon and fe-
lowe / ye and as his seruaunt / rather than
to be Consull of Rome. Thus my kynde-
nesse bathe be well acquyted / or (as **J**
mought saye) redoubled / deliueyinge me
from the dethe / ye from the moste cruell
and paynesfull dethe of all other. **J** per-
ceyue ye wonder here at noble **Atheniensis** /
and no meruayle : for what persone shulde
be so hardie to attempte any suche thyng
agayne me / beinge a Romaine / and of the
noble bloode of the Romanes ? Or who
shulde be thought so malicious / to flee
me / who (as all ye be my **Juges**) neuer
trespased agayne any persone within this
citie. Nay nay my frendes / **J** haue none
of you all therein suspected. **J** perceyue
ye desyre and barken to knowe what he
was / that presumed to do so cruell & great
an enterpryse. It was loue / noble **Atheni-
ensis** / the same loue whyche (as youre
poetes do remembre) dydde wounde the
more parte of all the goddes that ye do
honoure / that constrayned **Iuppiter** to
trans.

The Sonnet.

transfourme hym selfe in a swanne / a bulle /
and diuers other lykenesses : the same loue
that caused Hercules / the vauquisher and
dstroyer of Monsters and Beautes / to
spynne on a rocke / sittynge amōge maydens
in a womans apparayle : the same loue that
caused to assemble all the noble princes of
Asia and Greece in the felde of Troy : the
same loue I saye / agayne whose assaults
may be founde no defence or resistance / but
sodainely and vnware stricken me vnto the
harte / with suche vehemence and myght /
that I had in shorte space died with moste
seruent tourmentes / hadde nat the incom-
parable frendship of Gysippus holpen me.
Ife you wolde fayne knowe who she is /
that I loued : I will no lenger delaye you
noble Atheniensis : It is Sophronia / the
lady whom Gysippus had chosen to haue
to his wife : and whome he moste intierly
loued . But whan his moste gentill harte
perceyued / that my loue was in a moche
higher degree than his towarde that lady :
and that it proceded neither of wantonesse /
neither of longe conuersation / nor of any
other corrupte desire or fantasie / but in an
instant / by one onely loke / and with suche
seruence / that immediately I was so cruciate /
that

that I desired / & in all that I mought pro-
uoked death to take me / he by his wisdom
soone perceyued (as I doubt nat but that
ye do) that it was the very puision of god /
that she shuld be my wife & nat his: wherto
he geuyng place / and more esteemyng true
frendship / than the loue of a woman / where-
vnto he was induced by his frendes / & nat
by violence of Cupide constrained as I am /
hath willyngly graunted to me the interest
that he had in the damosell: & it is I Titus /
that haue verely wedded her: I haue put
the ryng on her synger: I haue vndone the
girdell of shamefastnes: what will ye more?
I haue lyen with her / and confirmed the
matrimonye / and made her a wife. At these
wordes all they that were present began to
murmure / and to cast a disdaynous & gre-
uous loke vpon Gylippus. Than spake a-
gayne Titus. Leauē youre grudgynges &
menasinge countenaūce towarde Gylippus /
he hath done to you all honour & no dede
of reproche: I tell you he hath accom-
plished all the partes of a frende / that loue
whiche was moſte certayne / that he conti-
nued / he knewe that he mought fynde in
Greece a nother mayden as fayre and as
ryche as this that he had chosen / and one
per

The Gouernour.

perchaunce that he mought loue better.
But suche a frende as I was (hauynge re-
specte to our similitude/the longe approued
concorde / also myne astate and condition)
he was suer to fynde neuer none . Also the
damosell suffreth no dispergement in her
bloode/or hynderaunce in her mariage:but
is moche rather aduaunced (no dispreyse
to my dere frende *Gysippus*). Also consider
noble *Atheniensis* / that I toke her nat my
father liuyng/whan ye mought haue sus-
pected / that as well her ryches as her be-
autie/shulde haue thereto alloured me:but
soone after my fathers decease / whanne I
ferre exceded her in possessions & substaunce/
whan the moste noble men of Rome and of
Italy desired myne alyaunce. ye haue ther-
fore all cause to reioyse and thanke *Gysip-
pus*/and nat to be angrie : & also to extolle
his wonderfull kyndenesse towarde me /
whereby he hathe wonne me and all my
bloode/suche frendes to you and your citie/
that ye may be assured to be by vs defended
agayne all the worlde : whiche beinge con-
sidered / *Gysippus* hathe well deserued a
statue or ymage of golde to be set on a pillar
in the myddes of youre citie / for an hono-
rable monument in the remembraunce of
our

our Incomparable frendship: & of the good that thereby may come to your citie. But if this persuation can nat satisfie you/ but that ye wyll imagyne any thinge to the damage of my dere frende Gysippus after my departing: I make myne auowe vnto god/ creature of all thynges/ that as I shall haue knowelege thereof/ I shall furtbwith resort hither with the inuincible power of the Romans/ & reuenge hym in suche wise agayne his enemyes/ that all Greece shall speke of it to their ppetuall dishonour/ shame/ and reproche. And therewith Titus and Gysippus rose: but the other for feare of Titus dissembled their malice/ makynge semblaunt as they had ben with all thinge contented.

Soone after Titus / beinge sent for by the autorite of the senate and people of Rome/ prepared to departe out of Athenes / And wolde sayne haue had Gysippus to haue gone with him/ offringe to deuide with him all his substaunce and fortune. But Gysippus considerynge howe necessary his counsaile shulde be to the citie of Athenes / wolde nat departe out of his countraye/ nat withstandinge that aboue all ertbly thinges be mooste desired the company of Titus: whiche abode also / for the sayd considera-

D

tion

The Countenours

tion/Titus approued. Titus with his lady
is departed towardes the citie of Rome.
where at their commynge they were of the
mother of Titus/his kynsmen / and of all
the senate & people ioyously receyued. And
there lyued Titus with his lady in ioye
inexplicable / and had by her many fayre
children : and for his wisdom & lernynge
was so highly esteemed / that there was no
dignitie or honorable office within the citie/
that he had nat with moche fauour & praise
achieued and occupied. But nowe let vs re-
sorte to Gysippus / who immediately vpon
the deptyng of Titus / was so maligned at /
as well by his owne kynsmen as by the
frendes of the lady / that he to their semynge
shamefully abandoned / leauinge her to Ti-
tus / that they spared nat daily to vexe hym
with all kides of reproche that they coule
deuise or imagine : and firste they excluded
him out of their counsaile / and prohibited
from him all honest company. And yet nat
beinge therewith satisfyed / finally they ad-
inged him vnworthy to enioye any posses-
sions or goodes lefte to him by his parētes :
whome he (as they supposed) by his vn-
discrete frendshipp had so distayned. wher-
fore they dispoyled hym of all thinges / and
almoste

almoste naked expelled him out of the citie.
Thus is Gysippus late welthy / and one of
the moste noble men of Athenes / for his
kynde harte banished his owne countraye
for ever / and as a man dismayed wandringe
hither and thither / syndeth no man that
wolde socour him. At the laste remembring
in what pleasure his frende Titus lyued
with his lady / for whome he suffred these
damages / concluded that he wolde go to
Rome / and declare his infortune to his said
frende Titus. what shall nede a longe tale?
in conclusion / with moche payne / colde /
hunger / and thurst / he is comen to the citie
of Rome / and diligently enquiryng for the
house of Titus / at the laste he came to hit :
but beholdinge it so beauteous / large / and
princely / he was ashamed to approche nigh
to it / beinge in so simple astate & vnkladde.
But standeth by / that in case that Titus
came forth out of his house / he mought
than present hym selfe to hym. He beinge in
this thought / Titus holdyng his lady by
the bande / issued out from his doore / and
takynge their horses to solace them selfe /
behelde Gysippus : but beholdyng his vile
apparayle regarded hym nat / but passed
furthe on their waye : wherwith Gysippus

D.ij.

was

The Governour.

was so wounded to the harte/thinking that Titus had contemned his fortune/that oppressed with mortall beuynes / he fell in a towne / but beinge recovered by some that stode by/thinking him to be sicke/he furthwith departed: entendinge nat to abide any lenger/but as a wilde beste to wadre abroad in the worlde. But for werynesse he was constrained to entre in to an olde berne / without the citie: where he castinge him selfe on the bare grounde / with wepinge and dolorous cryenge bewayled his fortune: But moſte of all accusinge the ingratitude of Titus: for whome he suffred all that misery / the remembraunce wherof was so intolerable/that he determined no lenger to lyue in that anguiſſe he & dolour. And therewith drew his knyfe / purposinge to haue slayne him selfe. But cuer wisedome (whiche he by the studie of Philosophie had attained) withdrewe hym from that desperate acte. And in this contention betwene wisedome and wille / fatigate with longe iournayes & watche / or as god wolde haue it / he fell in to a deade sleepe. His knyfe (wherewith he wolde haue slayne hym selfe) fallynge downe by hym. In the meane tyme a commune and notable rusian or these / whiche
bad

had robbed and slayne a man / was entred
in to the barne where Gysippus laye / to the
intent to sojourne there all that nyght.
And seinge Gysippus bewept / and his vi-
sage replenished with sorowe / and also the
naked knyfe by hym / perceyued well that
he was a man desperate / and surprised with
beuinesse of harte / was wery of his lyfe:
whiche the said rusian takinge for a good
occasion to escape / toke the knife of Gysip-
pus / & puttinge it in the wounde of him that
was slayne / put it all bloody in the hande of
Gysippus / beinge fast a slepe / & so departed.
Sonne after the dedde man beinge founde /
the offycers made diligent serche for the
murderar: at the laste they entring in to the
barne / and fynding Gysippus on slepe / with
a bloody knife in his hande / they awaked
him / wherwith he entred agayne in to his
olde sorowes / cōplayninge his euill fortune.
But whan the officers layde vnto hym the
detbe of the man / and the hauyng of the
bloody knife: he thereat reioysed / thankinge
god that suche occasiō was hapned / wherby
he shulde suffre deth by the lawes / & escape
the violēce of his owne hādes. wherfore he
denied not big that was laide to his charge
desiringe the officers to make haste that he
D.ij. mought

The Governour.

mought be shortly out of his lyfe. wherewith
they meruayled. Anone reporte came to the
senate / that a man was slayne / and that a
straunger / and a Greeke borne / was founden
in suche fourme / as is before mencioned.
They furwith commaunded hym to be
brought vnto their presence / sittynge there
at that tyme Titus / beinge than Consull or
in other lyke dignitie. The miserable By-
sippus was brought to the barre / with
billes and staues lyke a felon / of whome it
was demaunded / if he slewe the man that
was founden dedde / he nothyng denyed /
but in moste sorowful maner cursed his for-
tune / namynge him selfe of all other moste
miserable. At the last one demaundyng him
of what countray he was / he confessed to be
an Atheniense: and therwith he cast his so-
rowfull eyen vpon Titus / with moche in-
dignation / and braste out in to sighes and
teares abundantly: that beboldynge Ti-
tus / espiege by a litle signe in his visage /
whiche he knewe that it was his dere frende
Bysippus / and anone consideryng that he
was brought into dispayre by some misad-
venture / he anone rose out of his place /
where he sate / and fallinge on his knees be-
fore the iuges / sayde that he had slayne the
man /

man/ for olde malice that he bare towarde
him/ and that Gylippus beinge a straunger
was guiltles / and that all men mought per-
ceyue/ that the other was a desperate pson.
wherfore to abbreuiate his sorowes / he cō-
fessed the acte/ whereof he was innocent/ to
the intent that he wolde finyssh his so-
rowes with dethe. wherfore Titus desired
the iuges to gyue sentence on hym / accor-
dinge to his merites. But Gylippus per-
ceyuinge his frende Titus (contrary to his
expectation) to offre him selfe to the dethe/
for his saulfe garde / more importunately
cried to the senate to procede in their iuge-
ment on him / that was the very offender.
Titus denyed it/ and affirmed with reasons
and argumētes/ that he was the murderer/
nat Gylippus. Thus they of longe tyme/
with abundaunce of teares contended/ whi-
che of thē shulde die for the other/ wberat
all the senate and people were wonderly a-
basshed/ nat knowinge what it ment. There
bapned to be in the prease at that tyme / he
whiche in dede was the murderer/ who per-
ceyuinge the meruaylous cōtention of these
two persones/ whiche were bothe innocent/
and that it proceeded of an incomparable
friends hippe/ was yebemently prouoked to
D.ij. - discourt

The Countenour.

discover the trouthe. wherfore he brake
through the prease/and cōminge before the
senate / he spake in this wyse. Noble fa-
thers I am suche a psonē / whom ye knowe
haue ben a cōmune baratour and these by a
longe space of yeres: ye knowe also that Ti-
tus is of a noble blode / and is a proued to
be alway a man of excellent vertue & wise-
dome / & neuer was malicious. This other
straunger semeth to be a man full of simpli-
citie / and that more is / desperate for some
greuous sorowe that he hath taken / as it
is to you euident. I say to you fathere / they
bothe be innocent: I am that persone that
slewē hym that is founden dedde by the
barne: and robbed him of his money: and
whan I founde in the barne this straunger
lyenge on slepe / hauinge by hym a naked
knife: I the better to hyde myne offence/
dyd put the knife in to the wounde of the
dedde man / and so all bloody laide it agayne
by this straūger. This was my mischeuous
deuise / to escape your iugemēt. where vnto
nowe I remitte me holly / rather than this
noble man Titus / & this innocent straunger
shulde vnworthely die. Here at all the Se-
nate and people toke comfort / and the noyse
of reioysing hartes filled all the court. And
whan

whan it was further examined / Gysippus was discovered: the frendship betweue him & Titus was through out the citie published / extolled / & magnified. wherfore the Senate consulted of this mater / & finally at the instaunce of Titus & the people / discharged the felon. Titus recognised his negligence in forgettinge Gysippus. And Titus beinge aduertised of the exile of Gysippus / & the dispitfull crueltie of his kynrede / he was therewith wonderfull wraethe: and hauinge Gysippus home to his house (where he was with incredible ioye receiued of the lady / whome sometime he shulde haue wedded) he was honorably apparailed / & there Titus offred to hym to vse all his goodes & possessions at his owne pleasure & appetite. But Gysippus desirynge to be agayne in his propre coutry / Titus by the consent of the Senate & people / assembled a great armye / & went with Gysippus vnto Athenes: where he hauinge deliuered to him all those / whichewere causers of banishment & dispoilinge of his frende Gysippus he dyd on them sharpe execution: and restorynge to Gysippus his landes and substaunce / stablyshed hym in perpetuall quietenes / and so retourned to Rome.

V.v. This

The Governour.

Seneca
de benefi-
cijs.

This example in the affectes of frendshippe expresseth (if I be nat deceyued) the description of frendship engendred by the similitude of age and personage: augmented by the conformitie of maners and studies: and confirmed by the longe continuance of company. Seneca saietb that very frendship is induced neither with hope ne with rewarde. But it is to be desired for the estimatiō of it selfe/which estimatiō is honestie/ and what thinge is more honest than to be kynde/lyke as nothinge is so dishoneste as to be vnkynde. Perchaunce some wyll saye/ that frendshippe is nat knowen but by receyuinge of benefites. Were what Seneca sayeth. Loke as of all other vertues/semblably of frendship the estimation is referred to the mynde of a man. For if a frende persist in his office and ductie/ what so ever lacketh in benefite/ the blame is in fortune/ like as a man may be a good synginge man/ thoughbe the noyse of the standers aboute letteth him to be harde: also he may be eloquent/ though he be let to speke: & a stronge man/ though his bandes be bounden. Also there may happen to sayle no parte of conynge/ though there be a lette/ so that it is nat expressed. So kyndenesse may be i wille/

all

all though there lacketh power to declare it. Perchaunce some will demaunde this question: if frendship may be in wille without exterior signes / wherby shall it be perceyued or knowen: That I shall nowe declare. Howe do we knowe the vertues of Socrates / Plato / Tulli / Agesilaus / Titus / Traiane / the two Antonines / and other like emperours / & noble capitaynes and counsaylours? But onely by the fame of their nobilitie: & for those vertues we loue them / all though they were straingers: ne we hope to receyue any benefite by them. Moche more / if we be naturally inclined to fauour one of our owne contraye / of whome the assured fame is / and also we our selfe haue conuenient experience / that in him is suche vertue / wherin we delite: who also for some semblable oppinion / that he hathe in vs / vseth vs with some speciall familiaritie: on suche one shall we employe all maner of beneficence. It wolde be remembred that frendshippe is betwene good men onely / and is ingendred of an oppinion of vertue. Than may we reason in this fourme. A good man is so named / because that al that he willetb or dothe / is onely good: in good can be none euill / therefore no thyng that a good man willetb

None euill
may be
in frends
shippe.

The Governours

willerth or dothe can be euill. Lykewise vertue is the affection of a good man / whiche neither willerth nor dothe any thinge that is euill: And vice is contrary vnto vertue / for in the oppinion of vertue is neither euill nor vice. And very amitie is vertue. wherfore nothings euill or vicious may happen in frendship. Therfore in the firste election of frendes / resteth all the importaunce / wherfore it wolde nat be without a longe deliberation and prose: and as Aristotle sayeth in as longe tyme as by them / bothe beinge to gether conuersaunt / a hole bussell of salte mought be eten. For often tymes with fortune (as I late sayd) is chaunged / or at the lest minished the seruientnesse of that affection: according as the swete Poete Ouide affirmeth sayenge in this sentence.

Oui. de
Pon.

Whiles fortune the fauoureth / frendes thou hast pléte
The tyme beinge troublous thou arte all alone
Thou seest coluers haute houses made wth hite & dente
To the ruynous towre all moſte cometh none
Of emotes innumerable bueth thou fyndest one
In empty barnes / and where ſapleth ſubſtaunce
Hapneth no frende / in w^home is assurance.

But if any hapneth in every fortune to be
constant

constant in frendshipp / he is to be made of
 aboue all thinges that may come vnto man
 and aboue any other that be of bloode or
 kynrede (as Tulli sayeth) for from kyn-
 rede may be taken beneuolence: from frend-
 shipp it can neuer be seuered. wherfore bene-
 uolence taken frō kynrede / yet the name of
 kinsman remayneth. Take it frō frendshipp
 & the name of frendshipp is vtterly pisse-
 d. But sens this liberte of speche is nowe vsur-
 ped by flaterars: where they perceyue that
 assentatiō & praises be abhorred: I am ther-
 fore nat well assured / howe nowe a dayes a
 man shal knowe or discerne suche admoni-
 tiō frō flattery / but by one only meanes: that
 is to say / to remēbre that frēds hipp may nat
 be but betwene good men. Than consider /
 if he that dothe admonish the / be hym-
 selfe voluptuous / ambitious / couetous / ar-
 rogant / or dissolute / refuse nat his admoni-
 tion: but by the example of the emperour
 Antonine / thankfully take it: and amende
 suche default as thou perceyuest doth gyue
 occasion of obloqui in suche maner as the
 reporter also by thynie example may be cor-
 rected. But for that admonicion onely / ac-
 compt him nat immediatly / to be thy frēde /
 vtill thou haue of hym a longe and suer
 experi-

hope to
 discerne
 a frende
 from a fla-
 terer.

The Governour.

experience / for vndoughtedly it is wonder-
full difficile / to fynde a man very ambitious
or coueytous / to be assured in frendship. For
where fyndest thou hym (sayeth Tulli) that
will nat preferre honoures / great offices /
rule / autorite / and riches before frendship.
Therefore (sayeth he) it is very harde to
fynde frendship in them / that be occupied
in acquirynge honour / or about the affaires
of the publike weale. whiche sayenge is pro-
ued true by dayly experience. For disdayne
and contempt be companions with ambie-
tion / lyke as enuye and batede be also her
followers.

The diuision of Ingratitude / and the
dispraise therof. Cap. xij.



The moſte damnable vice / and
moſte agayne iuſtice / in myne
oppinion is ingratitude / com-
menly called ynkyndneſſe. All
be it / it is in diuers ſourmes /
and of ſondry importaunce / as it is diſcribed
by Seneca in this ſourme. He is ynkynde /
whiche denieth to haue receyued any be-
nefit / that in dede he hath receyued: He
is ynkynde that diſſimuleth: he is ynkynde
that

that recompenseth nat. But he is moſte vn-
 kynde/that forgeteth. For the other/ if they
 rendre nat agayne kyndneſſe / yet they owe
 it: and there remaineth ſome ſteppes or
 tokens of deſertes incloſed i an euill coſciēce:
 & at the laſt by ſome occaſion may happe to
 retourne to yelde agayne thanks: whan
 either ſhame therto prouoketh them / or
 ſodayne deſire of thinge / that is honeſt /
 which is wont to be for a tyme in ſtomakes /
 though they be corrupted / if a lyght occa-
 ſion do moue them. But he that forgetteth
 kyndenefſe / may neuer be kinde: ſens all the
 benefite is quite fallen frō hym: And where
 lacketh remembrannc / there is no hope of
 any recōpence. In this vice men be moche
 warrs than beaſtes. For diuers of them will
 remembre a benefite longe after / that they
 haue receyued it. The courſer / fierce & cou-
 ragious / will gladly ſuffre his keper / that
 dreſſeth & fedeth him / to vaunt hym eaſely /
 and ſtereth nat / but whan he liſteth to pro-
 uoke him: where if any other ſhulde ryde
 him / though he were a kinge / he will ſtere &
 plunge / and endeuour hym ſelfe to throwe
 hym. Suche kyndenefſe haue ben founden
 in dogges / that they haue nat onely dyed in
 defendinge their maiſters: But alſo ſome
 after

Kyndnes
in beaſtes.

Kyndnes
in dogges.

The Governour.

after that their maisters haue died / or ben
slayne : haue abstayned from meate / and for
famine haue died by their maisters .

Plini remembreth of a dogge / whiche in
Epiro (a contray in Greece) so assaulted the
murdrer of his maister in a great assembly
of people / that with barkynge and bitynge
bym / he compelled him at the laste to con-
fesse his offence. The dogge also of one Jay-
son / his maister beinge slayne / wolde neuer
eate meate / but died for hunger. Many sem-
blable tokens of kindnesse Plini reberceth /
but principally one of his owne tyme / wor-
thie to be here remembred .

whan execution shulde be done on one Ti-
tus Rabinius & his seruantes : one of them
had a dogge / whiche mought neuer be dri-
uen from the prison / nor neuer wolde depte
from his maisters body : and whan it was
taken frō the place of execution / the dogge
houled moste lamentably / beinge compased
with a great nombre of people : of whome
whan one of them had caste meate to the
dogge / he brought & laide it to the mouth
of his maister . And whan the corps was
throwen in to the ryuer of Tiber / the dogge
swame after it / and as longe as he mought
be inforced bym selfe to bere & sustayne it /
the

the people scatering abroad to beholde the faithfulness of the beste.

Also the Lyon/which of all other bestis is accounted moste fierce and cruell/bath ben founden to haue in remembraunce benefite shewed vnto him. As Silius remembreth out of the historie of Appion / howe a lyon/ out of whose fote a yonge man had ones taken a stubbe/ & clenched the wounde/ wherby he waxed hole: after knewe the same man beinge cast to him to be deuoured: & wolde nat hurte him/ but lickynge the legges and bandes of the man / whiche laye dismayde lokynge for dethe / toke acquaintaunce of him/ & euer after folowed him/ beinge ladde in a small lyam: wherat wondred all they that behelde it. whiche historie is wonderfull pleasaunt: but for the lengthe therof/ I am constrayned nowe to abryge it.

Howe moche be they repugnaunt and (as I mought saye enemies) bothe to nature & reason / that suche one / whome they haue longe knowne to be to them beneuolent / & ioyned to them in a sincere & assured friendship/ approued by infallible tokens/ ratified also with sondry kyndes of beneficēce/ they will contemne or neglecte/ beinge aduaūced by any good fortune. I require nat suche excellent

The Governour

cellent frendship/as was betwene Pitheas
and Damon: betwene Horestes & Pilades:
or betwene Sylippus and Titus/of whome
I haue before written (for I firmly beleue
they shall neuer happen in payres or cou-
ples) nor I seke nat for suche as will alway
preferre the honour or profite of their frēde
before their owne / ne (whiche is the lesse
parte of frendshippe) for suche one as desi-
rously will participate with his frende all
his good fortune or substaunce. But where
at this day may be fōūden suche frendship
betwene two / but that where fortune is
more beneuolent to the one than to the o-
ther: the frēdschip waxeth tedious: & be that
is aduanced/desireth to be matched with
one hauinge semblable fortune. And if any
damage hapneth to his olde frende / he pi-
tieth him/ but he soroweth nat/ & though he
seme to be sorowfull / yet he helpeth nat: &
though he wolde be sene to helpe him / yet
trauaileth he nat: And though he wolde be
sene to trauaile/ yet he suffreth nat. For (let
vs laye a parte assistance with money/ whi-
che is a very small portion of frendshippe)
who will so moche esteeme frendship / that
therfore wyll entre into the displeasure/
nat of his prince / but of them / whome he
supp o

Frendes
Shippe of
syne.

supposeth may minyſſe his eſtimation to-
wardes his prince: ye and that moche laſte
is / will diſpleaſe his newe acquaintaunce /
equall with him in autorite or fortune: for
the defence / helpe / or aduauncement of his
auncient and well approued frende. O the
moſte miſerable aſtate at this preſent tyme
of mankynde: that for the thinge / whiche
is moſte propre vnto the / the exāple therof
muſte be founden amonge the ſauage and
fierce beſtes.

But alas ſuche peruerſe coſtellation nowe
reigneth ouer men / that where ſome be ap-
tely and naturally diſpoſed to amitie / and
ſyndeth one in ſimilitude of ſtudie & maners
equall to his expectation / & therfore kende-
leth a ſeruent loue towarde that perſone /
puttinge all his ioye and delite in the praiſe
and aduauncement of him that he loueth: it
happeth that he whiche is loued beinge
promoted in honour / either of purpoſe ne-
glecteth his frende / therby ſuppreſſynge li-
bertie of ſpeeche or familiar reſorte: or els
eſteeming his mynde with his fortune onely
& nat with the ſuertie of frendſhip: hideth
from him the ſecretes of his harte / & either
truſteth no man / or els him whome proſpe-
rous fortune hath late brought in acquaint-
ance:

The Governour.

raunce: wherby do ensue two great incon-
ueniences: one is/that he which so entierly
loued / perceyuinge his loue to be vaynely
employed / withdraweth by litle & litle the
fire / whiche serueth to no vse: & so amitie /
the greatesttreasure that may be / finally
perissbeth. The other incōuenience is/that
he whiche neglecteth suche a frende / either
consumeth him selfe with solicitude / if he
be secrete: or in sondry affaires for lacke of
counsayle / is after with repentaunce atta-
ched: or disclosinge his mynde to his newe
acquaintaunce / is soner betrayed than well
counsaled: wise men knowe this to be true:
and yet will they ynethe be content to be
thus warned.

The election of frendes/and the diuer- site of flaterers. Cap.xiiij.



Noble man aboue al thinges
ought to be very circūspecte
in the election of suche men/
as shulde cōtinually attende
vpon his persone / at tymes
vacant from busye affayres /
whome he may vse as his familiars / and
safely cōmitte to them his secretes. For

as Plutarche saietb: what so euer he be/
that loueth / he doteth / & is blynde in that
thinge / whiche he dothe loue: except by ler-
ninge he can accustome him selfe to enlue &
sette more price by those thinges / that be
honest and vertuous / than by them that he
seeth in experience / and be familiarly vsed.
And suerly as the wormes do brede moste
gladly in softe wode and swete: so the moste
gentill & noble wittes / inclined to honoure/
replenished with moste honest & curtaise
maners / do sonest admitte flaterars / and be
by them abused: And it is no meruayle.
For lyke as the wylde corne / beinge in shap
and greatnesse lyke to the good / if they be
mengled with great difficultie will be tried
out: But either in a narowe holed seeue
they will stille abide with the good corne:
or els / where the holes be large / they will
issue out with the other: so flattery fro frend-
ship is bardely seuered: for as moche as in
every motion and affecte of the munde / they
be mutually mengled to gether. Of this
peruerse & cursed people be sondry kyndes:
some whiche apparauntly do flatter / pray-
singe & extollinge every thinge that is done
by their superior: & berynge hym on bande
that in hym it is of euery man comended /

The Gouernours.

whiche of trouthe is of all men abhorred & hated/to the affirmance thereof they adde to othes / adiurations / & horrible curses / oblige them selves to eternall paynes / except their reporte be true . And if they perceyue any pte of their tale mistrusted/than they sette furthe sodaynly an heuie and sorrowfull countenance: as if they were abiecte and brought in to extreme desperatio. Other there be / whiche in a more honest terme may be called Assentatours or followers/whiche do awayte diligently/what is the sourse of the speche and gesture of their maister : and also other his maners & facion of garmientes : and to the imitation and resemblance thereof they applie their studie : that for the similitude of maners they may the rather be accepted in to the more familiar acquaintance. Lyke to the seruantes of Dionyse kyng of Sicile/whiche all though they were inclined to all unhappynes and mischiefe/after the comyng of Plato / they perceyuinge that for his doctrine and wisdom the kyng had him in high estimation/they than counterfained the countenance and habite of the Philosopher/thereby encreasinge the kynges fauour towards them: who than was booly
giuen

giuen to studie of Philosophie. But after that Dionyse by their incitation had expelled Plato out of Sicile / they abandoned their habite and seueritie / and eftsones returned to their mischeuous and voluptuous liuynge.

The great Alexander bare his bedde some parte on the one side more than the other: whiche diuers of his seruantes dyd counterfaite: seblably dyd the scholers of Plato / the moste noble Philosopher: whiche for as moche as their maister had a brode breste and high shulders / & for that cause was named Plato / whiche signifieth brode or large: they stuffed their garmentes / and made on their shulders great bolsters / to seme to be of like fourme as he was. whereby he shulde coceyue some fauour towardes them / for the demōstration of loue that they pretented in the ostentation of his persone. whiche kynde of flaterie I suppose Plato coulde right well laughe at. But these maner of flateres may be well founde out and perceyued by a good witte: whiche somtyme by him selfe diligently cōsidereth his owne qualities and naturall appetite. For the company or cōmunication of a persone familiar / whiche is alway pleasaunt

The Countenour.

and without sharpnes/ inclining to inordinate fauour & affection / is alway to be suspected. Also there is in that frēde small commoditye / whiche foloweth a man lyke his shadowe/ meuinge onely whan he meueth/ and abidinge where he list to tary. These be the mortall enemyes of noble wittes/ & specially in youthe/ whan communely they be more inclined to glorie than grauitie. wherfore that liberalitie / whiche is on suche flatterers imployed/ is nat onely perished/ but also spilled & deuoured. wherfore in myne oppinion / it were a right necessarye lawe / that shulde be made to put suche persones openly to tortures/ to the fearefull example of other: sens in all princes lawes (as Plutarche sayeth) nat onely be that bathe slayne the kynges son and heire/ but also be that couñterfaiteth his seale/ or adulterateth his coyne/ with more base metall / shall be iuged to die as a traytour. In reason howe moche more payne (if there were any greater payne than deth) were he worthy to suffre / that with false adulation dothe corrupt and adulterate the gentill and vertuous nature of a noble man / whiche is nat onely his image / but the very man hym selfe. For without vertue man is but in the
numbre

Flattery
fictions to
gentill na-
tures.

numbre of bestis. And also by peruerse instruction and flattery / suche one sleeth bothe the soule and good renoume of his maister. By whose example & negligence perissbeth also an infinite numbre of persones: whiche domage to a realme neither with treasure ne with powar can be redoubded.

But harde it is all way to exchewe these flaterers / whiche lyke to crows / do pyke out mennes eyes or they be dedde. And it is to noble men moste difficle / whome all men conayte to please / and to displease them it is accounted no wysedome / perchaunce lest there shulde ensue thereby more payle than profite. Also Carneades the Philosopher was wont to saye / that the sonnes of noble men lerned nothing well but onely to ryde. For whiles they lerned lettres / their maisters flattered them / praysinge euery worde that they spake. In wrastlyng their teachers & copanions also flattered the / submitting the selves & fallinge downe to their fete: But the horse or courser / nat vnderstandyng who rydeth him / ne whether he be a gentyll man or yoman / a ryche man or a poore / if he sitte nat suerly / and can skill of ridyng / the horse casteth him quickly. This is the sayenge of Carneades.

¶.y. There

Plutarchus
de lib. es
ducandi.
A notable
example.

The Conermonr.

Subtyll
flaterers.
Ex plus
sarcho de
cogn. ami
co ab adu
latore.

There be other of this sorte / whiche more
couertly lay their snares to take the hartes
of princes and noble men. And as he which
entendeth to take the fierse & mighty lyon/
pytcheth his baye or nette in the woode
amonge great trees and thornes / where as
is the moste haunte of the lyon / that beinge
blynded with the thickenes of the couerte/
or he be ware / he may sodainly tumble in to
the nette : where the hunter seelynge bothe
his eyen / and bindyng his legges strongly
to gether / finally daunterh his fiercenesse / &
maketh him obedient to his ensignes and
tokens. Semblably there be some / that by
dissimulation can ostent or shewe a bigge
grauitie / mixte with a sturdy entretayne-
ment and facion : exilinge them selves from
all pleasure and recreation : frowninge and
grutchinge at every thinge / wherein is any
myrthe or solace / all though it be honeste:
tauntinge & rebuking immoderately them /
with whome they be nat contented: Na-
minge them selves therfore playne men: all
though they do the semblable / and often
tymes wars in their owne houses. And by
a simplicitie and rudenes of spekyng / with
longe deliberation vsed in the same / they
pretende the high knowlege of counsaile to
be

be in them onely: and in this wise pytching
 their nette of adulation / they intrappe the
 noble and vertuous harte / which onely be-
 holdeth their fayned feueritie and counter-
 sayte wisdom: and the rather by cause
 this maner of flattery is mooste vnlyke to
 that / whiche is comunely vsed. Aristotell in
 his politykes exorteth gouernours to haue
 their frendes for a great numbre of eyen /
 eares / handes / and legges : considering that
 no one man may see or here all thinge that
 many men may see and here : ne can be in
 all places / or do as many thinges well / at
 one tyme / as many persones may do . And
 often tymes a beholder or loker on espieth
 a defaulte / that the doer forgetteth or skip-
 peth ouer : whiche caused the emperour
 Antonine to enquire of many / what other
 men spake of him : correctinge thereby his
 defautes / whiche be perceyued to be iustly
 reprovued . ¶ What an incomparable wise-
 dome was in this noble prince / that prouid-
 ed suche punysshement / which was equal
 to the importaunce of the trespass : and ter-
 rible to all other semblably enclyned to fla-
 terye & vayne promises. where els he was
 to all men of good / and specially men of
 great lernynge excellent bounteous ,

many fre
 des neces-
 sary for a
 gouern-
 our.

This

The Governour.

This I truste shall suffice for the expresse
sing of that incomparable treasure called
amitie: in the declaration wherof I haue
aboden the longer / to the intent to perswade
the reders to enserche therfore vigilantly /
and beinge so happy to finde it / accordyng
to the said description / to embrace and ho-
nour it / abhorryng above all thynges in-
gratitude / whiche pestylence hath longe
tyme raygned amonge vs / augmented by
detractiō / a corrupt and lothely sicknesse /
wherof I wyll trayte in the laste parte of
this warke: that men of good nature es-
pienge it / nede nat (if they liste) be there-
with deceyued.

Finis libri secundi.

The thirde boke.

Of the noble and moste excellent vertue
named Justyce. La.i.



The moste excellent & incompa-
rable vertue called iustice/ is so
necessary and expedient for the
gouernour of a publike weale/
that without it none other ver-
tue may be comendable: ne witte or any ma-
ner of doctrine pfitable. Tulli saith/ that at
the beginninge/ whan the multitude of peo-
ple were oppressed by them that abounded
in possessions and substaunce/ they espienge
some one/ whiche excelled in vertue and
strength/ to hym they repayred: who mi-
nistringe equitie whan he had defended the
poore men from iniurie/ finally he retayned
to gether and gouerned the greater psones
with the lasse/ in an equall and indifferent
ordre. wherfore they called that mā a king/
whiche is as moche to saye as a ruler.
And as Aristotell sayeth/ iustice is nat onely
a portion or spice of vertue/ but it is intierly
the same vertue: And therof onely (sayeth
Tulli) men be called good men: as who
saith that without iustyce all other quali-
ties & vertues can nat make a man good.

Offic. 1.

From whē
the name
of a kyng
firste pro-
ceeded.

The

The Governour.

The auncient Liuilians do saye / iustyce is a wille perpetuall and constaunt / whiche gyueth to every man his right. In that it is named constaunt / it importeth fortitude : in discernynge what is ryght or wronge / prudence is required : And to proporcion the sentence or iugement / in an equalitie / it belongeth to temperaunce. All these to gether conglutinate and effectually executed maketh a perfecte definition of iustyce.

Justice all though it be but one entier vertue / yet is it described in two kyndes or spices : the one is named iustyce distributiuē / which is in distribution of honour / money / benefite / or other thynge seblable : the other is called cōmutatiue or by exchange. And of Aristotell it is named in Greeke *Dioztōtica* / whiche is in englyshe correctiue. And that parte of iustyce is contayned in intremedlynge / and somtyme is voluntary / somtyme involuntary intermedlynge. Voluntary is bienge and sellynge / loue / suertie / lettyng / and takynge : and all other thynge / wherin is mutuall cōsent at the beginnyng : and therfore is it called voluntary. Intermedlynge involuntary / somtyme is priuely done / as stelyng / auoutry / poisonynge / falsebede / disceyte / secrete murdre / false wytnes / and

Dioztōtica.

and periurye: Somtyme it is violent / as
 batry / open murdre / and manslaughter /
 robby / open reproche / & other lyke. Justice
 distributiue hath regarde to the persone:
 iustyce comutatiue hath no regarde to the
 persone / but onely considerynge the inqua-
 litie / wherby the one thyng exceedeth the
 other / indeuoureth to brynge them bothe
 to an equalitie. Nowe wyll I retourne a-
 gayne to speke firste of Justice distributiue /
 leauinge Justice comutatiue to an other vo-
 lume. whiche I purpose shall succede this
 warke / god giuynge me tyme and quietnes
 of mynde to perfourme it.

The firste parte of Justyce distri-
 butiue. Cap. ij.



It is nat to be doughted / but
 that the firste and princypall
 parte of Justyce distributyue
 is / and euer was / to do to god
 that honour / whiche is due to
 his diuine maiestie. whiche honour (as I
 before said in the firste booke / where I wrote
 of the motion called honour in daunsinge)
 consisteth in loue / feare / and reuerence. For
 sens all men graunte / that iustyce is to gyue
 to

The Governour.

to every manne his owne: moche more to
rendre one good dede for a nother: mooste
of all to loue god / of whome we haue all
thinge / and without hym we were nothing /
and beinge perysshed we were estones re-
couered. Howe ought we (to whome is gy-
uen the very light of true sayth) to embrace
this parte of iustyce more / or at the leste no
lesse than the gentilles: whiche wandring in
the darkenes of ignoraunce / knewe nat god as
he is / but deuidynge his maiestie in to sodry
portions imagined Idols of diuers fourmes
and names / assigned to them particuler au-
torities / offices / and dignities. That withsta-
ndynge in the honourynge of those goddes /
suche as they were / they supposed all way
to be the chiefe parte of iustice.

The hos-
nour that
the gētils
bare to
their gods
des.

Plutarchus
in vita ro-
muli.

Romulus (the firste kynge of Romanes)
for his fortune and benefites / whiche be as-
cribed to his goddes / made to the honoure
of them great and noble Temples / or day-
nyng to them images / sacrifices / and other
ceremonyes. And more ouer (whiche is
moche to be meruayled at) he also probi-
ted that any thing shulde be radde or spo-
ken reprocheable or blasphemous to god.
And therfore he excluded all fables made
of the aduoutryes and other enormityes /
that

that the Greekes had sayned their goddes to haue comytted. Inducinge his people to speke/and also to coniecte nothinge of god/ but onely that/whiche was in nature moste excellent/whiche after was also comaunded by Plato in the firste booke of his publike weale.

Dionysius
halicarn.
li. i.

Numa Pompilius/whiche was the nexte kinge after Romulus / and therto electe by the Senate/all though he were a straunger borne/ & dwellynge with his father in a litle towne of the Sabynes/ yet he considerynge from what astate he came to that dignitie / he beinge a man of excellent wisedome and lerning/thought that he coulde neuer sufficiently honour his goddes for that benefite/ by whose prouidence he supposed that he had attayned the gouernaunce of so noble a people and citie. He therfore nat onely increased within the citie Temples/alters/ceremonyes/preestes/ & sondry religions/ But also with a wonderfull wisedome & policie (whiche is to longe to be nowe reherfed) he brought all the people of Rome to suche a deuocion/or (as I mought saye a superstition) that where all way before duryng the tyme that Romulus reigned /whiche was. xxxvij.yeres/they euer were continually oc-

Deuocion
cause of
tranquillitie.

y

cupied

The Governour.

cupied in warres & rauine/they by the space
of. xliij. yeres (so longe reigned Numa)
gaue them selfe all / as it were to an obser-
uance of religyon/ abandonynge warres/
and applynge in suche wise their studie to
the honouring of their goddes/ and increa-
singe their publike weale/that other people
adioyninge/wondringe at them/ & for their
deuotion hauynge the citie in reuerence/ as
it were a palace of god/all that season neuer
attempted any warres agayne the / or with
any hostilitie inuaded their countray/many
mo princes and noble men of the Romanes
coude I reberce/who for the victories had
againc their enemyes/raysted Temples/and
made solempne & sumptuose playes in ho-
nour of their goddes/rendringe(as it were)
vnto them their duetie/& all wayes accoun-
tynge it the firste parte of Justyce:And this
parte of iustyce towarde god in honouringe
him with conuenient ceremonyes / is nat to
be cōtemned : example we haue amonge vs
that be mortall. For if a man beinge made
riche/& aduaunced by his lorde or maister /
will prouide to receyue him / a faire & plea-
saunt lodginge/banged with ricche Arrelle or
tapestrie/and with goodly plate and other
thinges necessary most freshely adourned/
but

but after that his maister is ones entred/ he
wyl neuer entertayne or countenaunce him
but as a straüger/ suppoſe ye that the beau-
tie & garniſhing of the houſe ſhall onely
cōtent him/ but that he will thinke that his
ſeruaunt brought hym thither onely for
vayne glorie/ and as a beholder & wonderer
at the riches that he hym ſelfe gaue hym/
whiche the other vntōakefully dothe attri-
bute to his owne fortune or policie. Moche
rather is that ſeruaunt to be commended/
whiche hauinge a litle rewarde of his ma-
iſter/ will in a ſmall cotage make him bartie
chere / with moche humble reuerence. yet
wolde I nat be noted/ that I wolde ſeme ſo
moche to extolle reuerence by it ſelfe / that
churches and other ornamētes dedicate to
god ſhulde be therfore contemned. For vn-
doughtedly ſuche thinges be nat onely cō-
mendable / but alſo expedient for the aug-
mentacion and cōtinuinge of reuerence. For
be it either after the opinion of Plato/ that
all this worlde is the temple of god/ or that
man is the ſame tēple/ theſe materiall chur-
ches/ where vnto repaireth the cōgregation
of chriſten people / the whiche is the corpo-
rall preſence of the ſonne of god & very god/
ought to be lyke to the ſayde temple/ pure/

y.ij. clene/

The Governour.

clene/ & well adourned/ that is to saye / that
as the heuyn visible is mooste pleasauntly
garnished with planettes / and sterres / re-
splendishinge in the mooste pure firmament
of asure colour : the erthe furnished with
trees/herbes / & floures of diuers colours /
facions/and sauours:bestis/soules/& fisses
of sondry kyndes : Semblably the soule of
ma of his owne kinde beinge incorruptibill/
nete/and clere/the senses and powars won-
derfull and pleasaunt/the vertues in it con-
tayned noble and riche/the fourme excellent
and royall/as that/which was made to the
similitude of god . Moreover the body of
man is of all other mortall creatures in pro-
porcion and figure mooste perfecte & elegant.
what peruerse or frowarde opinion were it
to thinke/that god still beinge the same god
that he euer was / wolde haue his maiestie
nowe contempned/ or be in lasse estimation?
but rather more honoured for the benefites
of his glorious passion/whiche may be well
perceyued/who so peruseth the holy histo-
rie of the Euangelistes/where he shall finde
in ordre/that he desired clenness & honour :
Firste in preparation of his comynge / whi-
che was by the wasshinge and clensinge of
the body of man by baptisme in water/ the
soule

soule also made cleane by penance/ the election of the moste pure and cleane virgine to be his mother / and she also of the lyne of princes moste noble and vertuous. It pleased him moche/ that Mary humbly kneeled at his fete and washed the with precious balme / and wyped them with her beare.

In his glorious transfiguration his visage shone lyke the sonne/ & his garmentes were wonderfull white / and more pure (as the Euangeliste saith) than any warkeman coulde make them. Also at his comynge to Jerusalem towarde his passion / he wolde than be receyued with great routes of people / who layinge their garmentes on the way as he rode / other castynge bowes a brode/ went before him in fourme of a triumph. All this honour wolde he haue before his resurrection / whan he was in the fourme of humilitie. Thā howe moche honour is due to him now / that all power is gyuen to hym / as well in heuin as in erthe : and beinge glorified of his father / sitteth on his right hande / iugynge all the worlde.

In redynge the bible men shall fynde that the infinite numbere of the sturdye barded Iues coulde neuer haue ben gouerned by any wysdome / if they had nat ben bridleled

y. iij.

with

The Governour.

with ceremonyes. The superstition of the gentilles/preserved often tymes as well the Greekes as the Romanes fro final destruction. But we wyl laye all those histories a parte / and come to our owne experience. For what purpose was it ordayned / that christen kynges (all though they by inheritance succeeded their pgenitours kynges) shulde in an open and stately place before all their subiectes receyue their crowne and other Regalities / but that by reason of the honorable circumstaūces than vsed / shulde be impressed in the hartes of the beholders perpetuall reuerence: whiche (as I before sayde) is fountayne of obedience / or els mought the kynges be enoynted & receyue their charge in a place secrete / with lasse payne to them / & also their ministers: Lette it be also cōsidered / that we be men and nat aungels / wherfore we knowe nothinge but by outwarde significations. Honour / wher-to reuerence pertayneth / is (as I haue said) the rewarde of vertue: whiche honour is but the estimation of people / which estimation is nat euery where perceyued / but by some exterior signe / and that is either by laudable reporte / or excellencie in vesture: or other tbinge semblable: But reporte is nat

so comune a token/as apparayle. For i olde tyme kynges ware crownes of golde / and knightes onely ware chaynes. Also the moſte noble of the Romanes ware ſondry garlandes/whereby was perceyued their merite. O creatures moſte vnkynde / & bar- rayne of Juſtyce/that will denie that thinge to their god and creatour / whiche of very duetie and right is gyuen to hym by good reaſon afore all princes / whiche in a degree incomparable be his ſubiectes and vaſſals ? by whiche oppinion they ſeme to deſpoyle hym of reuerence/which ſhal cauſe all obe- dience to ceaſe/wherof will enſue vtter con- fuſion / if good chriſten princes meued with zeale do nat ſhortely prouide to extinguiſh vt- terly all ſuche opinions .

The thre noble counſayles of reaſon :
ſocietie & knowlege. Cap. iij.



Merely the knowlege of Juſtyce is nat ſo difficile or harde to be attayned vnto by man / as it is comunely ſuppoſed/if he wolde nat willingly abandone the ex- cellencie of his propre nature/and ſoliſhly applycate him ſelfe to the nature of creatu-
y. iij. res

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tues vnreasonable / in the steede of reason embracing sensualitie / and for societie and beneuolence folowinge wilfulnesse and malice / and for knowlege / blynde ignoraunce and forgetfulnesse. Vndoubtedly reason / societie called company / and knowlege remaininge / Justice is at hande / and as she were called for / ioyneth her selfe to that cōpany : which by her sclos hip is made inseperable : wherby hapneth (as I mought saye) a vertuous and moste blessed conspiracie. And in thre very shorte preceptes or aduertisements man is perswaded to receyue ⁊ honoure iustyce. Reason bedynge him / do the same thinge to an other / that thou woldest haue done to the. Societie (without which mānes lyfe is vnpleasaunt and full of anguisshe) sayeth : Loue thou thy neighbour / as thou doest thy selfe. And that sentence or precept came from heuyn / whan societie was firste ordayned of god : and is of suche autoritie / that the onely sonne of god / beinge demaunded of a doctor of lawe / whiche is the great cōmaundement in the lawe of god / answered : Thou shalte loue thy lorde god with all thy hart : and in all thy soule / and in all thy mynde : that is the firste and great cōmaundement. The seconde is lyke to the same :

Mat. xxi.

same: Thou shalt loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. In these two commaundementes do depende all the lawe & prophetes. Beholde howe our sauour Christe ioyneth beneuolence with the loue of god: & nat onely maketh it the seconde precept / but also resemblith it vnto the firste?

Knowlege also/as a perseyte instructrice & mastresse/in a more brieue sentence than yet hath ben spoken/ declareth by what meane the sayd preceptes of reason & societie may be well vnderstande: & therby iustice finally executed. The wordes be these in latine/ *Nosce te ipsum.* whiche is in englyssh be / know thy selfe. This sentence is of olde writars supposed for to be firste spoken by Chilo or some other of the seven auncient Greekes called in latine *Sapientes* / in englyssh the sages or wisemen. Other do accommodate it to Apollo / whome the paynimes honoured for god of wisdom. But to saye the trouthe were it Apollo that spake it/or Chilo/or any other/suerly it pceded of god/as an excellent & wonderfull sentece. By this counsaile/man is induced to vnderstande the other two preceptes: & also wherby is accomplisshed nat onely the secōde pte/ but also all the residue of Justyce/whiche I before haue reberfed.

For

that this
sentence
nosce te ip
su knowe
thy selfe
lduceth to
the verre
knowlege
of iustyce.

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For a man knowinge him selfe shall knowe
that which is his owne / & pertaineth to him
selfe. But what is more his owne than his
soule? or what thyng more appertayneth
to hym thanne his body? His soule is vn-
doughtedly and frely his owne. And none
other persone may by any meane possede it
or clayme it. His body so pertaineth vnto
him / that none other without his consent /
may vendicate therein any proprietie. Of
what valour or price his soule is / the simi-
litude / where vnto it was made / the immor-
talitie / and lyfe euerlastyng / & the powars
and qualities therof / abundantly do de-
clare. And of that same mater & substaunce
that his soule is of / be all other soules / that
nowe are / and haue ben / and euer shall be /
without singularitie or preeminence of na-
ture. In semblable astate is his body / and
of no better claye (as I mought frankly
saye) is a gentelman made than a carter: &
of libertie of wille / as moche is gyuen of
god to the poore herdeman / as to the great
and mighty emperour. Than in knowinge
the condicion of his soule & body / he know-
eth him selfe / and consequently in the same
thyng he knoweth euery other man.

If thou be a gouernour / or haste ouer o-
ther

the equa-
litye in sou-
les & cor-
porall sub-
staunce.

ther soueraygntie/ knowe thy selfe. That is
to saye/ knowe that thou arte verely a man
compacte of soule and body/ and in that all
other men be equall vnto the. Also that e-
very man taketh with the / equall benefite
of the spirite of life/ nor thou haste any more
of the dewe of beuyn / or the brightnes of
the sonne/ than any other persone. Thy dig-
nitie or autorite/ wherein thou onely differest
from othe/ is (as it were) but a weighty or
beuy cloke / freshely gliteringe in the eyen
of the that be poreblynde: where vnto the/
it is paynefull / if thou weare hym in his
right facion/ and as it shal best become the:
And from the it may be shortly taken of
him that dyd put it on the/ if thou vse it ne-
gligently: or that thou weare it nat comely
& as it appertaineth. Therefore whiles thou
wearest it/ knowe thy selfe / knowe that the
name of a. soueraigne or ruler without ac-
tuall gouernaunce is but a shadowe / that
gouernaunce standeth nat by wordes onely /
but principally by acte and example: that by
example of gouernours men do rise or falle
in vertue or vice. And as it is said of Aristo-
tell / rulers more greuously do sinne by ex-
ample than by their acte. And the more
they haue vnder their gouernaunce / the
greater.

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Lampie
dms.

greater accounte haue they to rendre. That
in their owne preceptes & ordenaunces thou
be nat founde negligent: wherfore there is
a noble aduertisemēt of the emperour Alex-
ander for his grauitie called Severus. On
a tyme one of his noble men exhorted hym
to do a thinge contrary to a lawe or edicte/
whiche he hym selfe had inacted: But he
firmely denyed it. The other still persystynge
sayde that the emperour was nat bounden
to obserue his owne lawes. where vnto the
sayde emperour displeasauntly answering/
said in this maner: God forbede that euer
I shulde deuise any lawes/wherby my peo-
ple shulde be compelled to do any thyng/
whiche I my selfe can nat tollerate. wher-
fore ye that haue any gouernaunce/by this
moste noble princis exāple knowe the bou-
des of your autorite/knowe also your office
and duetie/beinge your selves men mortall/
amonge men/and instructours and leaders
of men. And that as obedience is due vnto
you/so is your studie/your labour/your in-
dustrie with vertuous example due to them
that be subiecte to your autoritie. ye shall
knowe all way your selfe / if for affection or
motion ye do speke or do nothig vnworthy
the immortalitie & moste precious nature of
your

your soule: & remembre that your body
is subiecte to corruption / as all other be / &
life tyme vncertayne. If ye forgette nat this
cōmune astate / and do also remembre / that
in nothinge but onely in vertue ye are better
than an other inferior persone / accordyng
to the sayeng of Agesilaus kyng of Lacede-
mōes / who hering the great king of Persia
praised / asked howe moche that great king
was more than he in iustice. And Socrates
beinge demaunded / if the kyng of Persia
semed to him happy / I can nat tell (said he)
of what estimation he is in vertue & lerning.
Consider also / that auctorite beinge well &
diligētly vsed / is but a token of superioritie /
but in very dede it is a burden and losse of
libertie.

Agesilaus

Socrates

And what governour in this wise knoweth
him selfe / he shall also by the same rule
knowe all other men / and shall nedes loue
them / for whome he taketh labours & for
saketh libertie.

In semblable maner the inferior persone
or subiecte aught to consider / that all be it
(as I haue spoken) he in the substance of
soule and body be equall with his superior /
yet for als moche as the powars and qua-
lities of the soule and body / with the dispo-
sition

Obediēce
due to gov-
ernours.

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sition of reason/be nat in euery man equall,
therfore god ordayned a diuersitie or pree-
minence in degrees to be amōge men/for the
necessary derrection and preservation of thē
in conformitie of lyuinge. whereof nature
ministreth to vs examples abundantly:as
in bees(wherof I haue before spoken in the
firste boke) cranes/redde dere/wolfes/ & di-
uers other foules & bestis / whiche herdetb
or flocketh (to longe here to be reberfed)
amonge whome is a gouernour or leader:
towards whome all the other haue a vigi-
lant eye/awaytinge his signes or tokens / &
according therto preparinge thē selfe moste
diligently. If we thinke that this naturall
instinction of creatures vnreasonable is ne-
cessary & also commendable/howe farre out
of reason shall we iudge them to be / that
wolde exterminate all superioritie / extinc-
te all gouernaunce and lawes / and vnder the
coloure of holy scripture / whiche they do
violently wraсте to their purpose / do ende-
uour them selves to bryng the life of man in
to a confusion ineuitable / & to be in moche
wars astate than the afore named beestes.
Sens without gouernaunce and lawes the
periones moste stronge in body / shulde by
violence constrainge them that be of lasse
strength

strength and weaker / to labour as bondemen or slaues for their sustinaunce & other necessities / the stronge men beinge without labour or care. Than were all our equalitie dashed / & finally as bestes sauage the one shall desire to slee a nother. I omitte continuall manslaughter / rauishementes / aduoutries / & enormities horrible to reberce : whiche (gouernaunce lackynge) muste nedes of necessitie ensue : except these euangelicall persones coulde perswade god or compelle him to chaunge men in to aungels / makinge them all of one disposition / and confirminge them all in one fourme of charitie. And as concerninge all men in a generaltie / this sentence / knowe thy selfe / whiche of all other is mooste compendious / beinge made but of thre wordes / euery worde beinge but one syllable / induceth men sufficiently to the knowlege of iustyce.

the necessi
tie that
is in go
uernaunce.

Of fraude and disceyte / whiche be
agayne Justyce. Cap. iij.

Tullius saith / that the foundation of eternall
perpetuall praise & renoume is iustyce /
without the whiche no thyng may
be comendable. whiche sentence is verified
by

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by experience. For be a man neuer so valiant/so wise/so liberall or plentuous / so familiar or curtaise: if he be sene to exercise in iustyce or wronge/it is often remembred: But the other vertues be seldome rekened/ without an exception/whiche is in this manner. As in praylinge a manne for some good qualitie/where he lacketh iustyce / men will communely saye/he is an honorable man/a bounteous man/a wise man/a valiaunt mā/sauynge that he is an oppressour / an extortioner / or is deceytfull / or of his promyse ynsure. But if he be iuste with the other vertues/than is it sayde / he is good & worshipfull/or he is a good man and an honorable/good and gentill/or good and hardy: so that Justyce onely / bereth the name of good / and lyke a capitayne or leader prece-
deth all vertues in euery cōmendation. But where as the said Tulli saith/that iniurie/ which is contrary to iustice/ is done by two meanes/that is to say/ either by violence or by fraude / fraude semeth to be properly of the foxe/violēce or force of the lyon/the one and the other be farre from the nature of man: but fraude is worthy moſte to be hated. That maner of iniurie / whiche is done with fraude and disceyte / is at this present tyme

Iniurie by
two mea-
nes done.

Fraude &
deceyte.

tyme so cōmunely practised that if it be but
 a litle it is called policie / & if it be moche / &
 with a visage of grauitie / it is than named
 & accounted for wisdom. And of those wise
 men speketh Tulli / sayeng of al iniustice none
 is more capitall than of those psones / that
 whā they disceyue a mā moſte / they do it as
 they wolde ſeme to be good mē. And Plato
 ſayeth / that it is extreme iuſtice / he to ſeme
 rightwiſe / which i dede is vniuſte. Of thoſe
 two maner of fraudes wil I ſeuerally ſpeke
 But firſte wil I declare the moſte miſchea-
 uous importaunce of this kynde of iniurie in
 a generalte. Like as the phificiōs calle thoſe
 diſeaſes moſte pilous / againe whome is ſou-
 den no pſeruatiue / & ones entred / be ſeldome
 or neuer recovered : Semblably thoſe iniu-
 ries be moſte to be feared / agayne the whi-
 che can be made no reſiſtence : and beinge ta-
 ken / with great difficultie or neuer they can
 be redreſſed . Iniurie apparaunt and with
 powar inforced / eyther may be with lyke
 powar reſiſted / or with wiſedome eſchued /
 or with entreatie refrained. But where it is
 by craftie engynne imagined / ſubtilly prepa-
 red / couertly diſſebled / & diſceytefully prac-
 tyſed / ſuerly no man may by ſtrength with-
 ſtāde it / or by wiſedome eſkape it / or by any

Plato de
 repub. ii.

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other maner or meane resiste or a voyde it. wherfore of all iniuries that which is done by fraude is mosse horrible and detestable, nat in the opinion of man onely / but also in the sight & iugement of god. For vnto hym nothing may be acceptable / wherin lacketh verite / called comunely trouth / he him selfe being all verite : & all thinge cōtayninge vntrothe is to him cōtrarious & aduerse. And the deuill is called a lyer & the father of leasings. wherfore all thinge which in visage or apparaunce pretendeth to be any other than verely it is / may be named a leasinge / the execution wherof is fraude : whiche is in effecte but vntrothe / enemye to trouth / & consequently enemye to god. For fraude is (as experience teacheth vs) an euill disceyte craftely imagined and deuised / whiche vnder a colour of trouth & simplicitie / indomageth him that nothing mistrusteth. And because it is euill / it can by no meanes be lefull. wherfore it is repugnaunt vnto iustice.

the fraude
of an arbi-
trour I dis-
cussing a
cōtrouersie.

The Neapolitanes and Nolanes (people in Italye) contended to gether for the limities and boudes of their landes and feldes / And for the discussinge of that cōtrouersie / either of them sent their ambassadours to the senate and people of Rome (in whome
at

at that tyme was thought to be the moſte
excellēt knowlege & execution of iuſtice) deſi-
ringe of them an indifferent Arbitour, and
ſuche as was ſubſtanciallye lerned in the
lawes Liule, to determine the variaunce
that was betwene the two cities: compro-
mittinge them ſelves in the name of all their
contray, to abyde and perſourme all ſuche
ſentence and awarde as ſhulde be by hym
giuen. The ſenate appointed for that pur-
poſe one named Quintus Fabius Labeo,
whome they accounted to be a man of great
wiſedome and lerninge. Fabius after that
he was come to the place, whiche was in
controuerſie, he ſeparatinge the one people
from the other, comuned with them bothe
a parte, exhortinge the one and the other
that they wolde nat do or deſire any thinge
with a couetiſe mynde, but in treadinge out
of their boundes, rather go ſhorte thereof
than ouer. They doynge accordinge to his
exhortacion there was leſte betwene bothe
companyes a great quantitie of grounde,
whiche at this day we calle batable: that p-
ceyuinge Fabius, he assigned to euery of
them the boundes that they them ſelves
had appointed. And all that lande, whiche
was leſte in the middes, he adiuged it to

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the senate & people of Rome. That maner of dealinge (saierh Tulli) is to disceiue / & nat to gyue iugement. And verely every good man will thinke / that this lacke of iustice in Fabius / beinge a noble man & well lerned / was a great reproche to his honour.

**Fraude
in confede
races.**

It was a notable rebuke vnto the Israhelites / that whan they besieged the Gabaonites (a people of Ebanani) they in cōclusiō receyued them in to a perpetuall leage. But after that the Gabaonites had yelded thē / the Jewes perceyuinge that they were restrained by their othe to sice thē or cruelly entreate thē / they made of the Gabaonites / beinge their confederates their skullions & drudges / wherwith all mighty god was no thinge contented. For the leage or truce / wherein frendshipp & libertie was intended (whiche caused the Gabaonites to be yolden) was nat duely obserued / whiche was clerely agayne Justice.

**Simplici
tie in co
uenant or
promise.**

Trewely in euery couenaunt / bargayne / or promise aught to be a simplicitie / that is to saye one playne vnderstandinge or meaning betwene the parties: And that simplicitie is properly iustice. And where any man of a couaytous or malicious minde will digresse purposely from that simplicitie / takinge ad
uau.

vantage of a sentence or worde / whiche
mought be ambiguous or doubtfull / or in
some thinge either supfluous or lackinge in
the bargaine or promise: where he certainly
knoweth the trouthe to be otherwise: this
in myne opinion is damnable fraude / beinge
as playne agayne Justice as if it were enfor-
ced by violence. Finally all disceyte & dissi-
mulation in the opinion of them whiche ex-
actly honoure iustyce / is nerre to dispraise
than cōmendation / all though that therof
mought ensue some thinge that were good.
For in vertue may be nothing fucate or cō-
terfayte: But therein is onely the image of
veritie called simplicitie. wherefore Tulli
beinge of the opinion of Antipater the Phi-
losopher / saith: To counceill any thyng /
whiche thou knowest to the intent that for
thyne owne profite thou woldest that a no-
ther who shall take any damage or benefite
therby / shulde nat knowe it: is nat the acte
of a persone playne or simple / or of a man
honest / iuste / or good: But rather of a pson
crafty / vngentill / subtile / deceytfull / malici-
ous / & wilie. And after he saith: That reaso
requireth that nothing be done by treason /
nothing by dissimulatio / not big by disceite.
which he excellētly (as he dothe all thinge)

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afterwarde in a brieſe concluſion proueth ſayenge. Nature is the fountayne / wherof the lawe ſpringeth : and it is accordinge to nature / no mā to do that / wherby he ſhulde take (as it were) a praye of a nother mānes ignorance. Of this matter Tulli writeth many propre examples & quicke ſolutions. But nowe here I make an ende to wrytte any more at this tyme of fraude / whiche by no meanes may be ioyned to the vertue named iuſtyce.

That iuſtyce aught to be betwene enemyes. Lap.v.



Debe is the excellencie of this vertue iuſtice / that the practiſe therof hath nat onely optayned digne cōmendation of ſuch perſones / as betwene whome hath ben mortall hoſtilitie : But alſo it hath extinguiſhed often tymes the ſame hoſtilitie. And fierce hartes of mutuall enemyes hath ben therby rather ſubdued than by armure or ſtrength of people. As it ſhall appere by examples enſuyng.

whan the valyaunt kynge Pyrrus warred moſte aſprely againe the Romanes / one Timocha-

mochares, whose sonne was yoman for the
mouthe with the kynge / promysed to Fa-
brius / thanne beinge consull to sle kynge
Py:rus: whiche thinge beinge to the senate
reported they by their ambassade warned
the kynge to be ware of suche maner of
trayson / sayenge that the Romanes main-
tayned their warres with armes and nat
with poyson. And yet nat withstandynge
they discovered nat the name of Timocha-
res: so that they embraced equitie as well
in that that they slewe nat their enemye by
treason: as also that they betraied nat him /
which purposed the kyndnes. In so moche
was iustice of olde tyme esteemed / that with-
out it none acte was alowed / were it neuer
so noble or profitable.

what tyme that Xerxes / kynge of Persia /
with his army was expulsed out of Greece:
all the nauye of Lacedemonia laye at rode
in an hauen called Gytheum / within the do-
minion of the Atheniensis: Themistocles /
one of the princes of Athenes / a moche
noble capitayne / said vnto the people: that
he had aduised him selfe of an excellent cou-
sayle: where vnto if fortune inclyned: no-
thinge mought more augment the powar
of the Atheniensis. But that it aught nat to

3.iiij. be

The Governour.

be divulgate or publifhed: he therfore desired to haue one appointed vnto him/vnto whome he mought secretly discover the enterprife. where vpon there was assigned vnto him one Aristides, who for his vertue was surnamed rightwise. Themistocles declared to him that his purpose was to put fire in the nauie of the Lacedemones/whiche laye at Sythen/to the intent that it beinge brend,the dominio & hole power over the see shulde be onely in the Atheniensis. This deuise berde and perceyued Aristides comynge before the people sayde / that the counsayle of Themistocles was very profitable/but the enterprife was dishonest and agayne iustice. The people heringe that the acte was nat honest or iuste / all cryed with one voyce/mor yet expedient. And furthwith they comaunded Themistocles to cesse his enterprife. wherby this noble people declared/that in euery acte/speciall regarde/and aboue all thinge consideration aught to be had of iustyce and honestie.

**Of saythe or fidelitie/ called in latyne
fides/whiche is the fundation of
iustyce. Cap.vi.**

That



That whiche in latyne is called fides / is a parte of iustice / and may diuersely be interpreted: and yet finally it tendeth to one purpose in effecte. Some tyme it may be called saythe: some tyme credence: other whyles truste. Also in a frenche terme it is named loyaltie. And to the imitation of latyne it is often called fidelitie. All whiche wordes if they be intierly / & (as I mought saye) exactly vnderstanden / shall appere to a studious reader to signifie one vertue or qualitie / all though they seme to haue some diuersitie. As beleuyng the preceptes & promyse of god / it is called saythe. In contractes betwene man & man / it is comunely called credence. Betwene persones of equall estate or condition it is named truste. Fro the subiecte or seruauant to his souerayne or maister it is properly named fidelitie / and in a frenche terme loyaltie.

wherefore to hym that shall eyther speke or wryte / the place is diligently to be obserued / where the propre signification of the worde may be beste expressed.

Consyderynge (as Plato sayethe) that the name of euery thyng is none other Plato in Cratylus
 3. v. but

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but the vertue or effecte of the same thinge conceyued firste in the mynde / and than by the voyce expresse / and finally in letters signified.

**Faithfull
elect.**

Anno Dom. 1531.

Anno H. 8. 23.

But nowe to speke in what estimation this vertue was of olde tyme amonge gentiles / whiche nowe (alas to the lamentable reproche and perpetuall infamie of this present tyme) is so neglected throughout christendome / that neither regarde of religion or honour / solemne othes or terrible curses can cause hit to be obserued. And that I am moche ashamed to write / but that I muste nedes nowe remembre it: Neyther seales of armes / signe manuels / subscriptiō / nor other specialties / ye vieth a multitude of wytnesses be nowe sufficient to the obseruynge of promises. O what publike weale shulde we hope to haue there / where lacketh fidelitie? whiche as Tulli saiet is the fundation of iustyce. what meruayle is it / though there be in all places contention infinite / and that good lawes be tourued in to Sophemes & insolubles / sens euery where fidelitie is constrayned to come in triall and credence (as I mought saye) is becomen a vagabunde?

To Iosue / whiche succeeded Moyses in the gouern

gouernaunce and leadinge of the Jewes,
almighty god gaue in comaundement to sle
as many as he shulde happen to take of
the people called Cananees. There hapned
to be nyghe to Jerusalem a contraye called
Gabaon / & in dede the people therof were
Cananees / who herynge of the precept gy-
uen to Josue : as men (as it semed) of great
wisedom / they sent an ambassade to Jo-
sue / which approched their cōtray : sayenge
that they were ferre distaunt from the Ca-
nanees / and desired to be in perpetuall leage
with him and his people : and to dissemble
the length of their iournay / as their cōtray
had ben ferre thens / they had on them olde
worne garmentes / and torne shone . Josue
supposinge all to be true that they spake /
concluded peace with them / and confirmed
the leage : And with a solemne othe ratified
bothe the one and the other . Afterwarde it
was discovered / that they were Cananees /
whiche if Josue had knowen before the
leage made / he had nat spared any of the .
But whan he reuolued in his mynde the
solemne othe that he had made / and the
honour / which consisted in his promyse : he
presumed / that saythe beinge obserued yn-
perissbed / shulde please all mighty god
aboue

Of what
authoritie
delitie is .

Cananees
preserved
by Josue .

The Governour.

about all thinges which was than proued.
For it appereth nat / that god euer dyd so
moche as in any wise imbraied him for bre-
kyng of his commaundement. By this ex-
ample it appereth in what estimation and
reuerence / leages & trues made by princes
ought to be had : to the breache where of
none excuse is sufficient . But lette vs leaue
princes affayres to their counsaillours. And
I will nowe wryte of the partes of fidelitie/
whiche be more frequent and accustomed
to be spoken of. And first of loyaltie & trust/
& laste of credēce / whiche principally resteth
in promise. In the moste renoumed warres
betwene the Romaynes & Anniball (duke
of Lbarthaginensis) a noble citie in spayne
called Saguntum / whiche was in amitie &
leage with the Romaynes / was by the said
Anniball strongely besieged: in so moche as
they were restrayned from vitayle and all
other sustenaunce: Of the whiche necessitie/
by their priuie messages they assertayned
the Romanes : But they beinge busyed /
about the preparations for the defence of
Italye: and also of the citie agayne the in-
tollerable powar of Anniball: hauinge also
late two of their moste valiaunt capitay-
nes / Publius Scipio / and Lucius Scipio /
with

The loial
ty Sagun-
tines.

Titus Li-
uius.
Valerius
max.

with a great hooste of Romaines / slayne by Anniball in Spayne / deferred to sende any speedy socours to the Saguntynes. But nat withstādyng that Anniball desired to haue with them amitie / offringe them peace with their citie / and goodes at lybertie / consideringe that they were brought in to extreme necessitie / lackynge vitayle / and dispayringe to haue socours from the Romaines : All the inhabitauntes confortynge and exhortynge eche other to die / rather than to violate the leage and amitie that they of longe tyme had contynued with the Romaines : by one boile assent / after that they hadde made sondry great pyles of wode and of other mater to brenne / they layde in it all their goodes and substaunce : And laste of all conuayenge the selves in to the saide pyles or bonfires with their wyfes and children / sette all on fire / and there were brenned or Annyballe coulde entree the citie.

Semblable loyaltie was in the inhabitauntes of Petilia the same tyme : who beinge lyke wyse besieged by Anniball / sent for socoures to Rome : But for the great losse that a litle crste the Romaines had sustayned at the batayle of Lannas / they

The Countesse.

they coulde in no wise delyuer them. wherefore they discharged the of their promise, and licensed them to do that thinge which mought be moſte for their ſaufegarde. By whiche anſwere they ſemed to be diſcharged, and leſſully mought haue entred in to the fauour of Anniball: yet nat withſtandynge this noble people preſeruing loyalte before life/puttyng out of their citie their women/and all that were of yeres ynhabill for the warres/that they mought more frankly ſuſtayne ſamyne/they obſtinately defended their walles/that in the defence they all peryiſſed. So that whan Anniball was entred/be ſounde that he toke nat the citie/ but rather the ſepulchre of the loyall citie Petilia.

O noble fidelitie / whiche is ſo moche the more to be wōdred at/that it was nat onely in one or a fewe perſones / but in thouſādes of men:and they nat beinge of the blode or aliaunce of the Romanes / but ſtraungers / dwellynge in ſerre contrayes from them / beinge onely of gentill nature and vertuous courage/inclined to loue honour: and to be conſtant in their aſſuraunce.

Nowe will I wryte from henceforth of particular perſones / whiche haue ſhewed examples

amples of loyaltie: which I praye god may
so cleue to the myndes of the reders / that
they may be all way redy to put the sembla
ble in experience.

Howe moche aught all they / in whome is
any portion of gentill courage / endeuoure
them selves to be all wayes trustye and
loyall to their souerayne / who putteth the
in truste or barbeben to them beneficial / as
well reason exhorteth as also sondrye ex
amples of noble personages / whiche as co
pendiously as I can I will nowe bringe to
the reders remembraunce.

The coma
mendatio
of loyaltie.

what tyme that Saull for his greuous of
fences was abandoned of all mighty god /
who of a very poore mannes sonne dyd
aunaunce him to the kyngedome of Jsraell :
And that Dauid beinge his seruauit and
as poore a mannes son as he / was elected
by god to reigne in Jsraell / and was enoin
ted kynge by the propbet Samuell. Saule
beinge therfore in a rage / hauinge indigna
tion at Dauid / pursued hym with a great
booste to haue slayne hym : who (as longe
as he mought) fledde and forbare Saule as
his souerayne lorde. On a tyme Dauid
was so inclosed by the armie of Saule / that
he mought by no wayes escape / but was
slayne

The Governour.

sayne to hyde hym and his men / in a great
caue / whiche was wyde & depe in the erthe /
duryng the tyme that he was in the caue /
Saul / nat knowinge therof / entred into the
caue / to the intent to do his naturall ease-
ment: whiche the people of David percey-
uinge / exhorted him to sle Saulle: hauynge
suche oportunitie: sayenge that god hadde
brought his enemye in to his handes / and
that Saulle beinge slayne / the warre were al
at an ende: Considerynge that the people
loued better David than Saulle. But Da-
uid refusinge their counsaile / saide that he
wolde nat laye violent handes on his so-
ueraygne lord / beinge a kynge enoynted of
god: but softly he approached to Saulle / &
dyd cut of a pease of the nether parte of his
mantell. And after that Saulle was deyped
out of the caue towarde his campe / David
called after hym / sayenge: whome pursuest
thou noble prince (with other wordes re-
herfed in the bible in the firste boke of kin-
ges) and than shewed to hym the parte of
his mantell. wherat Saulle beinge abasshed
recognised his vnkynndnesse / calling David
his dere sonne and trusty frende: recomen-
dyng to hym his children and progenie:
sens by the wyll of god he was elected to
succeede

succede hym in the kyngdome of Israell. And so departed Saulle from Dauid. yet nat withstandinge afterwarde he pursued hym in Gaddy. And in a night / whā Saull & his armye were at reste / and that Dauid by an espiall / knewe that they were all faste on slepe / he toke with him a certayne of the moſte assured and valiaunt personages of his hoſte / and in moſte ſecrete wiſe came to the pavilion of king Saul / where he ſoude hym ſuerly ſlepyng / hauinge by him his ſpeare & a cuppe with water. wherfore one of the cōpany of Dauid ſayde / that he with the ſpeare of Saulle wolde ſtryke hym through and ſlee hym. Nay ſayd Dauid / our lorde forbede that I ſuffre my ſoueraigne lorde to be ſlayne. For he is enointed of god. And therwith he toke the ſpeare with the cuppe of water / and whan he was a good diſtaunce from the hoſte of Saulle / he cried with a loude voyce to Abuer which was than marſhall of the armye of Saul. who answered and ſayde : what arte thou that thus diſeaſeſt the kyng / which is nowe at his reſte? To whome Dauid ſaid: Abuer / thou and thy company are worthe dethe / that haue ſo negligently watched youre prince. where is his ſpeare / and the cuppe of

8 water

The Countenour.

water that stode at his beddes hede? suerly
ye be but dede men/ whā he shall knowe it.
And there with he shewed the speare and
cuppe with water. whiche Saulle percey-
uinge / and hearynge the voyce of Dauid /
cried vnto him saienge / is nat this the voice
of my dere sonne Dauid? I vncurtaisely do
pursue him: and he nat withstandinge doth
to me good for euill. with other wordes /
whiche to abbreviate the mater I do passe
ouer. This noble historie / & other sēblable /
cyther wrought i Aresse / or connyngly pain-
ted / will moche better be seme the houses of
noble men / than the Concubines & volup-
tuous pleasures of the same Dauid & Sa-
laimon his sonne / which be more frequently
expressed in the hangynges of houses and
counterpointes / than the vertue & holynesse
of the one / or the wise experimentes of the
other. But now we will I passe ouer to histo-
ries / whiche be more straunge / and therfore
I suppose more pleasaunt to the reader.

Xerxes beinge kynge of Persia the great
citie of Babilon rebelled againe him: which
was of suche strength / that the kynge was
nat of powar to subdue it: that perceyuinge
a gentelman / one of the counsaile of kynge
Xerxes / named Zopirus / a man of notable
wise

wisedome: yn witttynge to any psone / dyd
cut of his owne eares and nose / and preuely
departed towarde Babilon: And beyng
known by them of the citie / was demaun-
ded who hadde so disfigured hym. Vnto
whome he answered with apparaunt tokes
of heuinesse: that for as moche as he hadde
giuen to Xerxes Counsayle and aduise to be
reconsiled vnto their citie / he beinge meued
with ire and displeasure towarde hym / in
moste cruell wise / caused him to be so shame
fully mntulate. Addyng there vnto repro-
chfull wordes agayne Xerxes. The Babi-
lonians beboldyng his miserable astate / &
the tokens whiche (as it semed to them)
approued his wordes to be true / moche pe-
tied hym: And as well for the great wise-
dome that they knewe to be in hym / as for
the occasion / whiche they supposed shulde
incense hym to be shortly auenged: they
made hym their chiefe capitayne / and com-
mitted booly to hym the gouernaunce and
defence of their citie: which hapned in euery
thinge accordinge to his expectacion. where
vpon he shortly gaue notyce to the kynge
of all his affaires & exploitures. And finally
so endeouored hym selfe by his wisdom /
that he accorded the kynge and the citie /

8.ij. with.

The Governour.

without any losse or damage to eyther of them. wherfore on a tyme the sayde kynge Xerxes cutting an odly great pomegranate/ and beholdyng it faire and full of kernels/ sayd in the presence of all his counsaile/ that he had leuer haue suche one frende as Zopirus was/ thā as many Babilons as there were kernels in the pomegranate. And also that he rather wolde that Zopirus were restored agayne to his nose and his eares/ than to haue a hundred suche cities as Babilon was. whiche by the reporte of writers was incomparably the grettest and sayrest citie of all the worlde.

The Parthiens in a ciuile discorde amōge them selves / draue Arthabanus their kyng out of his realme/ and elected amōge them one Linnamus to be their kyng: Jazate king of Adiabenes/ vnto whome Arthabanus was fledde/ sent an ambassade vnto the Parthiens / exhortyng them to receyue agayne Arthabanus: but they made answer / that sens the departyng of Arthabanus / they had by a boole assent chosen Linnamus / vnto whome they hadde done their fealtie/ and were sworne his subiectes/ whiche othe they mought nat laufully breake. Thereof hearyng Linnamus/ who
at

Cinna:
mus.

at that tyme was king ouer them/ he wrate
vnto Artaban^{us} & Jasate/that they shulde
come/and that he wolde render the realme
of Partbia vnto Artabanus. And whan
they were come/ Eumainus mette with the
adourned in the robes of a kynge: & as he
approched Artabanus/a lightinge downe
of his horse/ he sayde in this wyse. Sir
whanne the people had expelled you out of
your realme/ and wolde haue translated it
vnto a nother/at their instaunce and desyre
I toke it. But whan I perceyued their ran-
cour aswaged/ & that with good wille they
wolde haue you agayne/ whiche are their
naturall soueraigne lorde/ & that nothyng
letted/ but onely that they wolde nothyng
do cōtrary to my pleasure: with good wille
and for no drede or other occasion as ye
may pceyue do here rendre youre realme
estiones vnto you/ and therewith takinge
the diademe of from his owne bedde/dyd
sette it immediately vpon the bedde of Ar-
tabanus.

The fidelitie of Ferdinando (kyng of Ara-
gone) is nat to be forgotten: whome his bro-
ther Henry/kyng of Castill/decessyng/made
gouernour of his sone being an infant. This
Fernando with sucbe iustice ruled & ordred

The Conerment.

the realme / that in a parlement holden at
Castille / it was trayted by the hole consent
of the nobles and people / that the name or
title of the kyngdome of Spayne shulde be
giuen vnto him. which honour he sayninge
to receyue thankfully / dyd put vpon hym
a large and wyde robe : wherin he secretly
bare the yonge prince his neuewe : & so came
in to the place where for the sayde purpose
the nobles and people were assembled : de-
maundyng of euery man his sentence. who
with one voyce gaue vnto hym the kyng-
dome of Spayne. with that he toke out of
his robe the litle baby his neuewe / & setting
him on his shulder sayde all a loude vnto
the : Lo ye Castilians / behold here is your
kyng. And than he confirming the hartes
of the people towarde his neuewe / finally
delyuered to hym his realme in peace / & in
all thinges abundaunt. This is the fidelite
that apptayneth to a noble & gentill harte.

In what bated and perpetuall reproche
ought they to be / that corrupted with pesti-
lenciall auarice or ambition / betraieth their
maisters / or any other that trusteth them
O what monstros persones haue we radde
and berde of. whiche for the inordinate &
deuelissh appetite to raigne / haue mooste
tyran

tyrannously slayne the children/natonely of
their foueraigne lordes / but also of their
owne naturall bretherne / committed vnto
their gouernaunce : of whome purposely I
leauē at this tyme to wryte : to the intent
that the moste cursed remembraunce of the
shall nat consume the tyme that the well
disposed reader mought occupie in examples
of vertue .

This one thinge I wolde were remēbred :
that by the iuste puidence of god/disloyalte
or treason seldome escapeth great venge-
aunce: All be it that it be pretended for a ne-
cessary purpose. Exāple we haue of Brutus
and Cassius / two noble Romaynes : ⁊ men
of excellent vertues. whiche pretendinge an
honorable zeale to the libertie and cōmune
weale of their citie/slewe Julius Cesar (who
trusted them moste of all other) for that he
ysurped to haue the ppetuall dominion of
the empire / supposinge thereby to haue
brought the senate ⁊ people to their prist-
inate libertie . But it dyd nat so succede to
their purpose. But by the dethe of so noble
a prince hapned confusion ⁊ ciuile batayles:
And bothe Brutus and Cassius after longe
warres/vainquished by Octavian/neuwe
and biere vnto Cesar/at the last falling in to
a.iiij. extreme

The Governour.

extreme desperation / slewe them selves. A
worthy and conuenient vengeaunce for the
murder of so noble and valyaunt a prince.
Many other lyke examples do remayne as
well in wrytyng as in late remembraunce.
whiche I passe ouer for this tyme.

Of promise and couenant. Cap.vii.



Concernyng that parte of fi-
delitie which concerneth the
keepyng of promise or coue-
nauntes/experience declareth
howe litle it is nowe had in
regarde / to the notable rebuke of all vs /
whiche do professe Chrystes religion. Consi-
deryng that the Turkes & Sarazens haue
vs therfore in contempt and derision: they
hauinge fidelite of promise aboue all thinge
in reuerence. In so moche as in their con-
tractes they seldome vse any bonde or
othe: But as I haue herde reported of men
borne in those parties / after the mutuall co-
sent of the parties / the bargaynour / or he
that dothe promise / toucheth the grounde
with his bande / and after layeth it on his
hedde: as it were / that he vouched all the
worlde to bere wytnesse: But by this litle
cere-

ceremonye he is so bounden / that if he be
founden to breke touche willyngly : he is
without any redemption condemned vnto
the pale / that is to haue a longe stake thrust
in at the secreete ptes of his body / whereon
he shall abide dyenge by a longe space. For
fear of the which moste terrible execution /
seldome any man vnder the Turkes domi-
nion breketh his promise. But what hope
is there to haue fidelitie well kept amonge
vs in promises and bargaynes / whā for the
breache therof is prouided no punisshemēt /
nor yet notorious rebuke : sauinge if it be
tried by accion / suche praty damages as the
inry shall assese / whiche perchaunce dayly
practiseth semblable lightnes of purpose. I
omitte to speke now of attaintes i the lawe
reseruinge that mater to a place more con-
uenient. But no meruayle that a bare pro-
mise boldeth nat / where an othe vpon the
Euangelistes / solemphely and openly taken /
is but litle esteemed. Lorde god howe fre-
quent & familiar a thinge with euery astate
& degre throughout Christendome is this
reuerent othe on the Gospelles of Chryste.
Howe it hath ben hitherto kepte / it is so
well knowen & had in dayly experience / that
I shall nat nede to make of the neglectinge

a. y. therof

The Conemours.

therof any more declaration. Onely I will
shewe howe the Gentiles lackynge true re-
ligion had solempne othes i great honour /
and howe terrible a thinge it was amonge
them to breke their othes or a vowes. In
so moche as they supposed that there was
no powar / victorie / or pfitte / which mought
be equall to the vertue of an othe.

**Periure
punished**

Amonge the Egyptians they which were
periured / had their beddes stryken of / as
well for that they violated the honour due
vnto god / as also that thereby saythe and
truste amonge people mought be decayed.

The Scithes sware onely by the chayre or
throne of their kynge / whiche othe if they
brake / they therfore suffred dethe.

**the forme
of an othe
amonge
auncient
romanes.**

The auncient Romaines (as Tulli writ-
teth) sware in this maner. He that shulde
swere / helde in his bande a stone: and sayde
in this wyse. The citie / with the goodes
therof beinge saulfe / so Jupiter cast me out
of it / if I deceyue wittingly / as I caste from
me this stone. And this othe was so stray-
tely obserued / that it is nat remebred / that
euer any man brake it.

**The grete
test othe.**

Plutarcke writeth: that the firste Temple
that Numa Pompilius / the seconde kynge
of Romaines made in the citie of Rome /

was

was the temple of saythe. And also be declared that the greatest othe that mought be / was saythe: whiche nowe a dayes is vneth taken for any othe / but moſte cōmunely is yſed i mockage / or in ſuche thinges as men forſe nat / though they be nat beleued. In dayly cōmunication the mater ſauoureth nat / except it be as it were ſeaſoned with horrible othes. As by the holy blode of Chriſte: his woundes / whiche for our redemption he payneſully ſuffred: his glorious harte / as it were numbles chopped in peaces. Children (whiche abhorreth me to remembre) do playe with the armes and bones of Chriſte / as they were chery ſtones. The ſoule of god / whiche is incomprehenſible: and nat to be named of any creature without a wonderfull reuerence and drede: is nat onely the othe of great gētilmen: but alſo ſo vndiſcretely abuſed: that they make it (as I mought ſaye) their gonnes / wherewith they thunder out thretenynges and terrible menaces / wā they be in their fury / though it be at the damnable playe of dyſe. The maſſe / in whiche honorable ceremony is leſte vnto vs / the memoriall of Chriſtes glorious paſſion / with his corporall preſēce in fourme of breade / the inuocation of the
the

The Countenour.

thre diuine psones in one deitie/with all the
hole cōpany of blessed spirites & soules elect:
is made by custome so simple an othe/that it
is nowe all moſte neglected & litle regarded
of the nobilitie / & is onely vsed amōge hus-
bande men & artificers: onclas some taylor
or barbour/as well in his othes as in the ex-
cesse of his appyle/will cōterfaite & be lyke
a gentelman. In iudiciall causes / be they of
neuer so light importaūce/they that be no p-
ties but straingers. I meane witnesses & iura-
tes/which shall pcede in the triall/do make
no lasse othe/but opely do renouce the helpe
of god & his sayntes / & the benefite of his
passiō/ if they say nat true/as ferre furtbe as
they knowe. Howe euill that is obserued /
where the one ptie in degree ferre exceedeth
the othe/or where hope of rewarde or affec-
tion taketh place/ no man is ignorant sens
it is euery yere more cōmune than baruist.
Alas what hope shall we haue of any pu-
blike weale/where such a pestilēce reigneth?
dothe nat Salamon saye: A man moche
sweringe shall be filled with iniquitie/ & the
plage shall nat depte from his house: O
mercifull god/ howe many men be i this re-
alme/which be horrible swerers / & cōmune
iurates piured? Than howe moche iniqui-
tie

tie is there: & howe many plages are to be feared/where as be so many houses of swearers: Suerly I am in more drede of the terrible vengeance of god/thā in hope of amēdemēt of the publike weale. And so in myne opinion aught al other to be/which beleue/that god knoweth all thynge that is done here in erth:& as he him selfe is all goodnes so loueth he al thing that is good:which is vertue:& hateth the cōtrarie/which is vice. Also all thing that pleaseth him / he preserveth:& that thing that he hateth / he at the last destroyeth:but what vertu may be without verite / called trouthe / the declaration whereof is faithe or fidelitie . For as Tulli saith:faith is a cōstaūce & trouth of thingj spokē or couenaūted. And i a nother place he saith: nothig kepeth so to gether a publike weale as doth faith. I han foloweth it well/that without faith a publike weale may nat cōtinue: & Aristotle saith/that by the same craft or meanes that a publike weale is first cōstituted:by the same craft or meanes is it preserved. I han sens faithe is the fundation of Justyce/whiche is the chiefe constitutour & maker of a publike weale:& by the afore mencioned autoritie/ faithe is cōseruatour of the same. I may therfore conclude /
that

The Governour.

that faith is bothe the originall/and (as it were) principall constitutour and conseruator of the publike weale.

Nowe lyke as it is more facile to repayre than to newe edifie: and also to amende/ than to make all agayne: so more soner is a publike weale reformed/ than of newe constitute/ and by the same thyng that it is constitute and conserued/ by the same thyng shall it be reformed and preserued. where I saye conserued/ I meane kepte and mayntayned. where I saye preserued: I intende corroborate & defended againe annoyances. The thinge that I spake of is faith/ which I by the autoritie of Tulli/ do name the fundation of iustyce. For thereat nat onely dependeth all contractes/ conuencions/ commutations/ entercoursis/ mutuall intelligence/ amitie/ and beneuolence/ whiche be contayned in the worde/ whiche of Tulli is called the societie or felowship of mankind: But also by due obseruinge of faith/ malefactours be espied/ iniuries be tried out and discuffed/ the proprietie of thinges is adiudged. wherfore to a gouernour of a publike weale nothyng more appertayneth: than be hym selfe to haue saythe in reuerence/ & mooste scrupulously to obserue it. And
where

where he fyndeth it to be contemned or neglected/and specially with addynge to perjurye/moste sharpely/ye moste rigorously & aboue all other offences punissh be it without acceptaunce or fauour of any persone/ remembringe this sentence: O f saythe cometh loyaltie: & where that lacketh / there is no suertie.

It is also no litle reproche vnto a man/whiche esteemeth honestie / to be lyte in makinge promise: or whan he hath promised / to breke or neglecte it: wherfore no thyng ought to be promised / which shulde be in any wise contrary to Justyce. On a tyme one remembred kyng Agesilaus of his promise. By god sayde be that is trouthe/ if it stode with iustyce: if nat/ I than spake/ but I promised nat. But nowe at this present tyme we may make the exclamation/that Seneca dothe / sayenge: O the foule and dishonest confession of the fraude and mischiefe of mankynde nowe a dayes/seales be more set by than soules. Alas what reproche is it to christen men/and reioysinge to Turkes and Sarazens/that nothing is so exactly obserued amonge theim as faithe/consistynge in lausfull promise and couenaunt; And amonge christen men it is so neglected: that hit is
more

Platchus
in apophy
thegma.

Seneca de
bench. iii.

The Governour.

more often tymes broken than kept. And
nat onely sealyng (whiche Seneca disday-
ned / that it shulde be more sette by thanne
soules) is yneth sufficient: but also it is nowe
come into suche a generall cōtempt / that all
the lerned men in the lawes of this realme /
whiche be also men of great wisdom: can
nat with all their study deuise so sufficiēt an
instrument / to bynde a man to his promyse
or couenaunt. But that there shal be some
thinge therein espied / to brynge it in argu-
ment / if it be denyed. And in case that bothe
the pties be equall in estimation or credēce /
or els be that denyeth superiour to the o-
ther / & no witnesses deposeth on knowlege
of the thinge in demaunde: the promise or
couenaunt is ytterly frustrate / which is one
of the princypall decayes of the publike
weale / as I shal traite therof more largely
here after. And here at this tyme I leaue to
speke any more of the partes of that moſte
royall and necessary vertue / called Iustyce.

**Of the noble vertue fortitude / and of the
two extreme vices / Audacitie / & Timor-
rositie. Lap. viij.**

It



Tis to be noted / that to hym
 that is a gouernoure of a pu-
 blike weale / belongeth a double
 gouernaunce: that is to saye an
 interior or inwarde gouernaunce
 and an exterior or outwarde gouernaunce.
 The firste is of his affectes & passiōs / which
 do inhabite within his soule / & be subiectes
 to reason. The seconde is of his children /
 his seruantes / and other subiectes to his
 autoritie: to the one and the other is requi-
 red the vertue morall called fortitnde. whi-
 che as moche as it is a vertue is a Medio-
 critie or meane betwene two extremities /
 the one i surplusage / the other in lacke. The
 surplusage is called Audacitie / the lacke
 Timorositie or feare. I name that Audaci-
 tie / whiche is an excessife & inordinate truste
 to escape all daungers / and causeth a man
 to do suche actes / as are nat to be ieopded.
 Timorositie is as well whan a man feareth
 suche thinges as be nat to be feared / as also
 whan he feareth thinges to be feared / more
 than nedeth. For some thynges there be /
 whiche be necessary and good to be feared /
 and nat to feare theim it is but rebuke. In-
 famie & reproche / be of all honest men to be
 dradde. And nat to feare thynges that be
 b terrible

Audacis-
tie.

Timorosi-
tie.

The Governour.

a valiant
man.

terrible/agayne whiche no powar or witte
of man can resiste/ is foole hardynesse / and
worthy no praise : as erthe quakes / rages
of great and sodayne flodes / which do bere
downe before them mountaynes and great
townes. Also the horrible fury of sodayne
fire deuourynge all thing that it apprehen-
deth. yet a man that is valiaunt/called in
latyne fortis / shall nat in suche terrible ad-
uentures be resolved into waylinges or de-
speration. But where force constraineth him
to abide / and neither powar or wisdom
assayed/may suffice to escape/but will be or
no be must nedes peryss he / there dothe he
patiently sustayne dethe/whiche is the ende
of all euilles. And lyke as an excellent Phi-
sitioun curcth moste daungerous diseases
and dedely woundes : so dothe a man that
is valiaunt/auaunce him selfe as inuincible
in thinges that do seme moste terrible: Nat
vnaduisedly & as it were in a bestely rage:
But of a gentill courage and with premedi-
tation / either by victorie or by dethe wyne-
nyng honouour and perpetuall memory / the
iuste rewarde of their vertue. Of this ma-
ner of valiaunce was Horatius Cocles/an
auncient Romaine: of whose example I
haue all redy written in the firste boke/
where

where I comended the seate of swymming.

Pirrbus/whome Anniball esteemed to be the secode of the moſte valiaunt capitaines/ assaulting a ſtronge fortrefſe in Sicile called Erice/ he firſte of all other ſcaled the walles/ where he behaued him ſo valiauntly / that ſuche as reſiſted ſome he ſlewe / & other by his maiestie and fierce countenaunce he dyd put to diſcomforte : And finally before any of his armye/ entred the walles / and there alone ſuſtained the boile bronte of his enemyes/ vntill his people/ whiche were without at the laſte myſſinge him/ ſtered partely with ſhame/ that they had ſo loſte hym : partely with his couragious example/ toke good harte & inforced them ſelfes in ſuche wiſe / that they clymed the walles / & came to the ſocour of Pirrbus/ & by his prowefſe ſo wanne the garyſon. what valiaunt harte was in the romayne Mutius/ Sceuola/ that whan Porcena kyng of Ethruſcanes had by great powar conſtrayned the romaynes to kepe them within their citie. Sceuola takinge on him the habite of a begger/ with a ſworde hydde preuely vnder his garment / went to the enemyes Lampe : where he beinge taken for a beggar/ was notbinge miſtrusted. And whan he had eſpied the kinges

king Pirr
bus the
hardye.

b.ij.

paul.

The Governour.

pauillyon he drew hym thither: where he
founde dyuers noble men sittynge. But for
as moche as he certaynly knewe nat whi-
che of them was the kynge / he at the laste
perceyuinge one to be in more ryche appa-
rayle thanne any of the other / and suppo-
singe hym to be Porcena / he or any man
espyed hym stepte to the sayde lorde / and
with his sworde gaue hym suche a stroke /
that he immediatly dyed. But Sceuola
beyng taken / for as moche as he mought
nat escape suche a multitude: he boldly con-
fessed that his hande erred / and that his
intent was to haue slayne kynge Porcena:
wherewith the kynge (as reason was) all
chaused / comaunded a great fire furthwith
to be made: wherein Sceuola shulde haue
ben brenned: but he nothing abasshed said
to the kynge. I thinke nat Porcena that by
my dethe onely / thou maiste escape the ha-
des of the Romaines: for there be in the
citie. LLL. yonge men suche as I am / that
be prepared to flee the by one meanes or
other / and to thaccomplishement thereof /
be also determined to suffre all tourmentes:
wherof thou shalt haue of me an experience
in thy syght: And incontinently he went
to the fire / whiche was made for to brenne
him.

him / & with a glad countenance dyd put his hande in to the flame / & there helde it of a longe tyme without chaūgyng of any countenance / vntill his said hande was brenned vnto asshes: In lyke wise he wolde haue put his other hande in to the fire / if he had nat ben withdrawn by Porcena: who wondryng at the valiaūt courage of Sceuola / licensed hym to retourne vnto the citie. But whan he considered that by the wordes of Sceuola so great a nōbre of yonge men of semblable prowesse were confederate to his distruction: so that or all they coulde be apprehended / his lyfe shulde be all waye in ieoperdye / he dispaireng of winnyng the citie of Rome / raised his siege & departed.

In what actes Fortitude is / & of the
consyderations therto belongynge. Cap. ix.



Ut all though I haue nowe reherſed ſondry exam-
ples to the cōmendation of Fortitude / con-
cernynge actes marciall. yet by
the waye I wolde haue it re-
membred / that the praiſe is properly to be
b. iij. refer.

The Governour.

referred vnto the vertue: that is to saye / to
enterpryse thynges dredefull / either for the
publike weale / or for wyning of perpetuall
honour / or els for exchuyng reproche or
dishonoure . where vnto be annexed these
considerations / what importaunce the en-
terpryse is / And wherfore it is done / with
the tyme and oportunitie whan it aught to
be done. For (as Tulli saietb) to entre in ba-
tayle and to fight vnadvisedly / it is a thing
wylde & a maner of beestes : but thou shalt
fight valiauntly whan tyme requireth / and
also necessitie . And all way dethe is to be
preferred before seruitude / or any disho-
nestie . And therfore the actes of Anniball
agayne the Saguntynes / whiche neuer dyd
hym displeasure / is nat accounted for any
prowesse. Neyther Catalyne / which for his
singuler comoditie / & a fewe other attemp-
ted detestable warres agayne his owne co-
traye / entending to haue brenned the noble
citie of Rome / and to haue destroyed all the
good men / is nat numbred amonge valy-
aunt men / all though he faught manly and
with great courage / vntill he was slayne .
what auayled the boldenesse of Varro and
Flaminius noble capitaynes of Romaines:
whiche despisyng the prowesse and crafte
of

of Anniball / & cōtemnyng the sobre cōsayle
of Fabius / hauing onely truste in their owne
hardinesse / losse two noble armyes / wherby
the powar of the Romaines was nigh vt-
terly perysshed. wherfore estsones I saye /
that a valiaunt man is he that dothe tolle-
rate or suffre that whiche is nedefull / and in
suche wise as is nedefull / and for that whi-
che is nedefull / and also whan it is nedefull.
And he that lacketh any of this / may be
called hardy / but nat valiaunt. More ouer
all thoughte they whiche be hardy / or per-
sones desperate haue a similitude / and seme
to be valiaunt / yet be they nat valiaunt / no
more than kinges in may games and enter-
ludes be kinges. For they that be hardy or
they come to the perylle / they seme to be
fierce and aigre / and in beginnyng their en-
terpryse wonderfull hasty : But whan they
feele the thing more harde & greuous than
they esteemed / their courage decayeth more
and more / and as men abasshed and vnpre-
pared / their hartes vtterly do fayle / and in
conclusion they appere more faynte than
they that be cowardes. Also in desperation
can nat be fortitude : for that beinge a mo-
rall vertue is cuer voluntary : Desperation
is a thinge as it were constrayned / he bathe-

whomay
be called
a valiaunt
man.

The Governour.

any maner of cōsideration / where fortitude
expendeth euery thinge and acte diligently /
& dothe also moderate it with reason. Here
nowe appereth (as I suppose) that neyther
they whiche employe their force without
iuste cause or necessitie: Ne they whiche
without forecast / or (as I mought saye) cir-
cumspedition / will take in hande an harde en-
terprise: Ne they whiche bedlonge will fall
into daungers / frome whens there is no
hope to escape: nor yet men desperate / whi-
do dye willingly without any motion of ho-
nour or zeale towarde the publike weale / be
in the nombre of valyaunt persones. But of
a refuse company / and rather to be rekned
with bestes sauage / than amonge men whi-
che do participate with reason. For as Lur-
tius sayeth / it appertayneth to men that be
valyaunt / rather to despise dethe / thanne to
hate lyfe. A man is called in latyne *Vir* /
whereof sayeth Tulli vertue is named.
And the moſte propre vertue longynge to a
man / is fortitude: whereof be two excellent
properties / that is to saye / the contempt of
dethe & of grieve. But what very fortitude
is / be more plainly doth declare afterwarde
in a more larger circumscription sayenge.
Thinges humane aught to be litle esteemed
dethe

Q. Curti-
us.

be the nat regarded/laboures and griefes to
 be thought tollerable. whan this is rati-
 fied by iugement and a constant oppinion /
 than that is a valiaunt and stable fortitude.
 But there vnto I wolde shulde be added /
 whiche oppinion and iugement procedeth
 of a reason / and nat repugnaunt to Justyce.
 And than it shal accorde with this sayenge
 of Aristotelle. A valiaunt man sustaineth / and Aristotell
 dothe that / whiche belongeth to fortitude /
 for cause of honestie. And a litle before he
 saith. A man that is valiaunt as well suffer-
 eth / as dothe that whiche agreeth with
 his worship / and as reason comaundeth.
 So no violence or sturdye mynde lackynge
 reason & honestie is any parte of fortitude.
 Vnto this noble vertue be attendaunt / or as
 it were contiunall adherentes : dyuers ver-
 tues whiche do ensue and be of ryght great
 estimation.

Of paynefulnesse the firste companion
 of Fortitude. Cap. x.

In them which be either gouernours
 or capitaynes / or in other offyce / where
 vnto appertaineth great cure or despe-
 chynge of sondry great assayes. Paynful-
 b. v. nesses

The Countenance.

ness / named in latyne *Tollerantia* / is wonderfull comendable. For thereby thynges be in suche wise employted / that vtilitie proceedeth therof / and seldome repentance. For as moche as thereof cometh an excellent frute / called oportunitie : which is ever ripe and neuer in other astate. For lacke of this vertue / moche wisdom and many a valyaunt enterprise haue perished / & toured to none effecte: for thynges sharply inuented / prudently discussed / and valyauntly enterprised / if they be nat diligently folowed / and without cessyng applied and pursued / as it were in a moment all thinge is subuerted. And the paynes before taken / with the tyme therein spent / is vtterly frustrate. The paynefulnesse of Quintus Fabius / beinge dictator or principall capitayne of the Romaynes / in leadinge his armye by mountaynes and other berde passages so disappointed Anniball of the hope of victorie / wherein he so moche gloued / that at the last he trayned and drewe Anniball & his hoste in to a felde / inclosed about with mountaynes and depe ryuers / where Fabius had so emyazoned him by the fortifyenge of two mountaynes with his people / that they were inieoperayce / eyther to be samysbed (their
vntayle

vitayle soone after saylinge theim) or els in
 sleinge / to be slayne by the Romaines / had
 not the craftye & polityke witte of Anniball
 deliuered them / whiche for the notable in-
 uention / I wyll borowe so moche tyme of
 the reader / to renewe the remembraunce ther-
 of in our Englyshe tunge .

Anniball perceyuinge the daunger that he
 and his armye were in / he comaunded in the
 depe of the nyght / whan notbynge was ste-
 rrynge / to be brought before him / about two
 thousande great oxen and bulles: whiche a
 litle before his men had taken in foraginge /
 and causinge sagottes made of drye styckes
 to be fastened vnto their hornes and set on
 fyre. The bestes troubled with the flame of
 fyre / ranne as they were woode vp towarde
 the mountaynes / where as laye the hoste of
 the Romaines . Anniball with his hoole
 armye solowynge in aray. The romaynes
 whiche kept the mountaynes beinge sore a-
 fferde of this newe and terrible fight / forsoke
 their places. And Fabius dreydunge the de-
 teyrefull witte of Anniball / kept the armye
 within his trenche / and so Anniball with
 his hoste escaped without domage. But
 Fabius beinge painefull in pursuinge Anni-
 ball from place to place / a waytinge to haue
 bym

The polle-
 cie of An-
 nyball to
 escape fro
 the Ro-
 maynes.

The Governour.

him at aduantage / at the laste dyd so fati-
gate him & his hoste / that therby in conclu-
sion his powar minished / & also the strenght
of the Carthaginēsis / of whome he was ge-
nerall capitayne. In so moche as they were
at the laste constrained to countermaūde him
by sondrie messāgers / willyng him to aban-
done the warres in Italye / & to retourne to
the defence of his owne citie. whiche by the
opinion of moste excellent writars shulde
neuer haue hapned / if Fabius wolde haue
leste any parte of his purpose / eyther for
the tediousnesse of the payne & trauayle /
or for the intollerable rebukes giuen vnto
hym by Minutius / who imbrayded hym
with cowardyse. Amonge the vertues
whiche abounded in Julius Cesar / none
was accounted more excellent / than that in
his counsayles / affaires / and exploytures :
he omitted no tyme ne forsoke any payne .
wherfore moste sonest of any man / he achie-
ued and brought to good passe / all thyng
that he entreprised . Suppose ye that the
same Anniball of whome we late spake /
coulede haue wonne from the Romaines
all Spayne / and haue perced the mountay-
nes called Alpes / makynge a way for his
armye / where before was neuer any maner
of

of passage / and also haue gotten all Italye
vnto Rome gates / if he had nat ben a man
paynefull / and of labour incomparable.

Julius Cefar after that he had the intier
gouernaunce and dominion of the empyre
of Rome: he therfore neuer omitted labour
and diligence / as well in comune causes as
priuate / concernyng the defence & assistance
of innocentes. Also he laborously and stu-
diously discussed controuersies / whiche all
most dayly / he berde in his owne persone.

Painefull
nesse thea
rynge cōs
trouersies

Traiane & bothe Antonines emperours of
Rome / & for their vertue worthy to be em-
perours of all the worlde / as well in exterior
affaires / as in the affaires of the citie / were
euer so cōtinually occupied / that yneth they
founde any litle tyme to haue any recrea-
tion or solace.

Alexander also emperour for his incōpara-
ble graunie / called Seuerus : beinge but of
the age of. xviij. yeres whan he firste was
made emperour / was inclyned to so incre-
dible labours / that where he founde the
noble citie of Rome than mastresse of the
worlde thoroughly corrupted with mosse ab-
ominable vices: by the mosse shamefull ex-
ample & liuing of that detestable mōstre Va-
rius Helioabal^o next emperour before him

A great

The Governour.

A great parte of the Senate and nobilitie beinge resolved in to semblable vices / the chivalrye dispersed / martiall prowesse abandoned / & well nyghe the maiestie imperiall dissolued and brought in contempt. This noble yonge prince Alexander / inflamed with the zeale of the pristinate honour of the Romaynes / layenge a parte vtterly all pleasures and quietnesse / boly gaue his witte and body to studye and trauayles intollerable / and chesinge out of all partes of the worlde men of grettest wisdom and experience: Consultinge with them / neuer ceased vntill he had reduced as well the Romaynes as all other cities and prouinces vnto them subiecte / to their pristinate moderation and temperaunce. Many other examples coulde I reherce to the comendation of paynesfulness. But these shall suffice at this present tyme / to proue that a gouernour mult nedes be painefull in his owne persone / if he desire to haue those thinges prosper that be comytted to his gouernaunce.

**Of the noble and sayre vertue named
Pacience. Cap. xi.**

Pacience



Raciencie is a noble vertue ap-
 pertayninge as well to in-
 warde gouernaunce / as to ex-
 terior gouernaunce. And is
 the vanquishour of iniu-
 ries / the iuer defence agayne all affectes and
 passions of the soule / retayninge all wayes
 glad semblaunt in aduersitie / and doloure.
 Saynt Ambrose saith in his booke of offi-
 ces. Better is he that contemneth iniurie /
 than he that soroweth: for he that contem-
 neth it / as he nothyng felte / he passeth nat
 on it. But he that is sorowfull / he is there
 with tourmented as though he felt it. whi-
 che was well pured by Zeno Eleates a noble
 Philosopher; who beinge a man of excel-
 lent wisdom & eloquence / came to a citie
 called Agrigentum / where raygned Pha-
 laris the mooste cruell Tyrant of all the
 worlde: who kept & vsed his owne people
 in mooste miserable seruitude. Zeno firste
 thought by his wisdom and eloquence to
 haue so perswaded the Tyrant to tempe-
 rance / that he shulde haue abandoned his
 cruell & auaricious appetite. But custome
 of vice more preuayled in him than profita-
 ble counsaile: wherfore Zeno hauynge pitie
 at the wretched astate of the people: excited
 dyuers

Ambrosi
 us. Offi. 1.

The Conerment.

diuers noble men to deliuer the citie of that
seruile condition: this counsayle was nat so
secretely gyuen/ but that notice therof came
to the Tyraunt/ who causinge all the people
to be assembled in the market place/ caused
Seno there to be cruciate with sondrye tur-
mentes/ all wayes demaundyng of hym/
who dyd participate with hym of his said
counsayle: but for no paynes wolde he con-
fesse any persone/ but induced the Tyraunt
to haue in mistrust his nexte frendes and fa-
milyar seruauntes: And reprouynge the
people for thir cowardise and drede/ he at
the laste so inflamed them vnto libertie/ that
sodaynely with a great violence they fell on
the Tyraunt/ and pressed him with stones.
The olde Seno in all his exquisite tourmen-
tes neuer made any lamentable crye/ or de-
sire to be relieved. But for this fourme of
Paciencie/ this onely exaple suffiseth at this
tyme/ sens there be so frequent examples of
martyrs: whiche for true religion sustayned
pacyently/ nat onely equall tourmentes
with Seno/ but also ferre excedynge. But
nowe wyll I wrytte of that Paciencie/ that
ptaineth vnto interior gouernaunce/ wherby
the naturall passions of man be subdued/ &
the malyce of fortune sustayned: for they
whi

whiche be in autoritie / & be occupied about
great affaires / their lyues be nat onely re-
plenished with labours and greuous dis-
pleasures / but also they be subiectes to
sondrye chaunces .

The meane to optayne pacyente is by two
thinges principally. A directe and vpryght
conscience : And true and constant opinion
in the estimation of goodnes : whiche sel-
dome cometh onely of nature / excepte it be
wonderfull excellent / but by the diligent stu-
dye of very philosophie (nat that whiche is
sophisticate / and consisteth in sophismes)
nature is therto prepared & holpen . This
Opinion is of suche powar / that ones cle-
uyng faste to the mynde / it draweth a man
as it were by violence to good or euill. There-
fore Tulli saith. Lyke as whan the bloode
is corrupted / and eyther fleame or Colere /
blacke or redde / is superhabundaunt / than
in the body be ingendred sores & diseases :
so the vexation of euill opinions / and their
repugnauncie / despoileth the mynde of all
helthe / and troubleth it with griefes . Con-
trarye wyse afterwarde Tulli describeth
good Opinion / and calleth it the beaultie
of the soule / sayenge in this wyse. As of bo-
delye membres there is an apte figure / with

howe pa-
cyence
maye be
obtained

Tullii. q.
iii.

The Governour.

diuers noble men to deliuer the citie of that
seruile condition: this counsaile was nat so
secretely gyuen/ but that notice therof came
to the Tyraunt/ who causinge all the people
to be assembled in the market place/ caused
Zeno there to be cruciate with sondrye tur-
mentes/ all wayes demaundyng of hym/
who dyd participate with hym of his said
counsaile: but for no paynes wolde he con-
fesse any persone/ but induced the Tyraunt
to haue in mistrust his nexte frendes and fa-
milyar seruauntes: And reprouynge the
people for thir cowardise and drede/ he at
the laste so inflamed them vnto libertie/ that
sodaynely with a great violence they fell on
the Tyraunt/ and pressed him with stones.
The olde Zeno in all his exquisite tourmen-
tes neuer made any lamentable crye/ or de-
sire to be relieved. But for this fourme of
Paciencie/ this onely exaple suffiseth at this
tyme/ sens there be so frequent examples of
martyrs: whiche for true religion sustayned
pacyently / nat onely equall tourmentes
with Zeno/ but also ferre excedynge. But
nowe wyll I wrytte of that Paciencie/ that
ptaineth vnto interior gouernaunce/ wherby
the naturall passions of man be subdued/ &
the malyce of fortune sustayned: for they
whi

whiche be in autoritie / & be occupied about great affaires / their lyues be nat onely replenished with labours and greuous displeasures / but also they be subiectes to sondrye chaunces .

The meane to optayne pacyence is by two thinges principally. A directe and vpryght conscience : And true and constant opinion in the estimation of goodnes : whiche sel dome cometh onely of nature / excepte it be wonderfull excellent / but by the diligent studye of very philosophie (nat that whiche is sophisticate / and consisteth in sophismes) nature is therto prepared & holpen . This Opinion is of suche powar / that ones cleuyng faste to the mynde / it draweth a man as it were by violence to good or euill. Therefore Tulli saietb. Lyke as whan the bloode is corrupted / and eyther fleame or Colere / blacke or redde / is superhabundaunt / than in the body be ingendred sores & diseases : so the vexation of euill opinions / and their repugnauncie / despoileth the mynde of all helthe / and troubleth it with griefes . Contrarye wyse afterwarde Tulli describeth good Opinion / and calleth it the beaultie of the soule / sayenge in this wyse. As of bodelye membres there is an apte figure / with

howe pacyence
maye be
obtained

Tullius: q.
iii.

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a maner pleasauntnesse of colour / and that is called beaultie: So in the soule the equalitie and constance of opinions / and iugementes ensuyng vertue / with a stable and stedfaste purpose / or contaynyng the selfe same effecte that is in vertue / is named beaultie. whiche sentences depely inuestigate / and well perceyued by them that be about princes and gouernours / they may consider howe ware and circumspecte they aught to be in the indusinge them to opinions / whereof they be sufficiently admonished by the moste excellent diuine Erasmus Roterodamus / in his booke of the Institution of a Chriſten prince: whiche in myne opinion can nat be so moche praysed / as it is worthy. Therefore I will leaue now to write any more of Opinion / sauyng that I wolde that it shulde be all waye remembered that opinion i iuginge thinges as they verely be / armetb a man vnto pacience.

Of Pacience in sustayninge wronges and rebukes. Lap. xij.

Unto hym that is valyaunt of courage it is a great payne and difficultie to sustayne Iniurie and nat to be furthwith reuenged: and yet often tymes
is

is accounted more valyauntnesse in the sufferance than in hasty reuengynge: As it was in Antoninus the emperoure / called the philosopher: agayne whome rebelled one Cassius and vsurped the imperiall maiestie in Syria & the Este partes. yet at the laste beinge slaine by the capitaynes of Antonine next adioyninge / he therof yn wetynge / was therwith sore greued. And therfore takynge to hym the chyldren of Cassius / entreated them honorably / wherby he acquired euer after the incomparable and mooste assured loue of his subiectes. As moche dishonour and bated his sonne / Comodus wanne by his impacience / wherein he so exceded / that for as moche as he founde nat his bayne bette to his pleasure / he caused the keper therof to be throwen in to the hote brennyng furnace. what thyng might be more odible than that mooste deuelysshe impacience. Julius Cesar whan Catullus the Poete wrate agayne hym contumelyouse or reprocheable versis / he nat onely forgave him / but to make hym his frende / caused hym often tymes to soupe with hym. The noble emperour Augustus whanne it was shewed hym / that many men in the citie bad of hym ynfittinge wordes / he thought

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it a sufficiēt answer/that in a free citie/men
muste haue their tungen nedes at libertie.
Nor neuer was with any pson that spake
euill of hym / in worde or countenance
warre discontented. Some men will nat
praise this maner of Pacience/ but account
hit for folyshenes: but if they bebolde on
the other side/ what incōmoditie cōmeth of
impatience / howe a man is therewith ab-
stracte from reason / & tourned in to a mon-
struous figure / & do conferre all / that with
the stable countenance and pleasaunt re-
garde of him that is pacient / and with the
cōmoditie that dothe ensue thereof / they
shall affirme that that simplicitie is an ex-
cellent wisdom. More ouer the best waye
to be aduenged / is so to contemne Iniurie / &
rebuke and lyue with suche honestie / that
the doer shall at the leste be therof a sha-
med / or at the laste / lese the frute of his ma-
lyce / that is to say / shall nat reioyce & haue
glorie of thy byndraunce or damage.

**Of Pacience deserued in repulse or
bynderaunce of promo-
cion. Cap. xij.**



Da man hauynge a gentyll courage/lyke wise as nothinge is so pleasaunt or equally reioyceth him/as rewarde or preferment sodaynely giuen or aboue his merite/so nothinge may be to him more displeasaunt or paynesfull / than to be neglected in his payne takynge/ and the rewarde and honour that he loketh to haue / and for his merites is worthy to haue/to be gyuen to one of lasse vertue / and pebaunce of no vertue or laudable qualitie. Plato in his Epistell to Dion kynge of Scicile. It is (sayeth he) good right/ that they which be good men / and do the semblable / optayne honour/whiche they be worthy to haue.

Undowghtedly in a prince or noble man/ may be nothinge more excellent/ ye nothing more necessarye/ than to aduaunce men after the estimation of their goodnes / and that for two speciall comodities that do come thereof. Fyyste that therby they prouoke many men to apprebende vertue. Also to them/whiche be good & all redy aduauced to gyue suche courage / that they endeavour them selves with all their power to increase that opinion of goodnes / wherby they were brought to that aduauncement /

c.iiij. which

what comodities
do happen
by the aduauncement
of good
men.

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whiche nedes muste be to the honoure and benefite of those by whome they were so promoted. Contrary wise/where men from their infancie haue ensued vertue/worne the floriss hynges tyme of youthe with paynefull studie/abandonynge all lustes and all other thinge / whiche in that tyme is pleasaunt / trustynge therby to profite their publike weale/and to optayne therby honour / whā either their vertue and trauayle is litle regarded:or the preferment whiche they loke for/is giuen to an other nat equall in merite/ it nat onely perceth his harte with moche anguisshe / and oppresseth hym with discomfort / but also mortifieth the courages of many other/whiche be aptly disposed to studie and vertue / & hoped therby to haue the propre rewarde therof / whi be is commendation and honour/which beynge giuen to men lackyng vertue and wisedome/ shall be occasion for them to do euill (as Democritus sayeth) for who doughteth / but that auctoritie in a good man dothe publiſſe his vertue/which before laye hydde. In an euill man it ministreth boldnesse and lycence to do euill / whiche by drede was before couered. Surely this Repulse or (as they vulgarly speke) puttynge backe from promotion/

tion is no litle payne or discomforte / but it may be withstande / or at the lest remedied with pacience / whiche may be in this wise induced.

Fyrste considerynge that the worlde was neuer so constant / that at all tymes before / good men were iustely rewarded / and none but they onely promoted. Lato called *Priscus* / at whose wisdom all the worlde woundred. And whose grauitie / as well the Senate and people of Rome / as other kynges and princis reuerensed / lokynge to be one of the Consules / was openly reiecte. wherwith his frendes and kynnesmen toke no litle discomfort. But Lato bym selfe so litle regarded that repulse / that where all wayes he went very homely / he the nexte day folowinge / decked and trymmed bym selfe more fresshely than he was wont: and whanne he had shewed bym selfe so to the people / at after none he walked with one of his frendes in the markette place / bare legged / and in sengle apparayle as he was accustomed.

where by
pacyence
may be in-
duced.

Scipio called *Nasica* / who by the hole Senate was iuged the best man in the citie / and of an auncyent house / was lyke wise putte backe / for beynge Consull. *Lelius* lyke wise /

c.iiij. which

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whiche was openly called the wise man, was semblably refused. And diuers other, of whome histories do make mencion, were abiecte whan they had well deserved honours, and their inferiours in merites promoted. Also a mannes conscience shall well comfort him, whan he hath so lyued, that where he is knowen, men do iuge him worthy preferment. And than may he saye to them, whiche meruayle why he is nat aduanced, as Lato sayde to a persone that tolde to hym that men wondred why amonge so many noble mennes images as were sette vp in the citie, Latos image was nat espied. By god sayde Lato, I had leuer that men wondred why I haue none image sette vp, than why men shulde set vp myne image. So if men meruayle why a man is nat aduanced, knowinge hym a good man, thanne iuge they hym to be worthy promotion, whiche iugement procedeth of fauour; and than though he lacke promotion, yet hath he perfecte glorie, whiche euery noble hart desireth.

For Tulli sayeth: The perfecte and moste principall glorie, consisteth in those thre thynges. If the multitude loue vs: if they putte confydence in vs: if also, as it were
mer

A wise
science of
Cato.

meruaylinge at vs / they thinke vs worthy
to haue honour gyuen vnto vs. with this
glorie & clenness of conscience / shall a wise
man content hym and be induced to Paci-
cience / and nat be greued with his fortune /
but to folowe Democritus in lawgbinge at
the blinde iugementes of men in bestawinge
promotions. I omitte at this tyme to write
any more of this vertue Pacience / sens to
the institution of a gouernour this semeth
to be sufficient / to the residne he shall be
better perswaded by the warkes of Plu-
tarche / Seneca / and Pontane / where they
write of Pacience / whiche warkes he may
here after rede at his leasour.

Of Magnanimitie / whiche may be named
valyaunt courage. Cap. xiiij.



Magnanimitie is a vertue mo-
che comendable / and also ex-
pedient to be in a gouernour /
and is as I haue sayd / a com-
panyon of fortitude: And may
be in this wise defined / that it is an excel-
lencie of mynde / concernyng thynges of
great importaunce or estimation / doynge all
thyng that is vertuous for the achieuyng

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of honour. But nowe I remembre me this worde **Magnanimitie** / beinge yet straunge as late borrowed out of the latyne / shall nat content all men / and specially them / whome nothing contenteth out of their accustomed **Dumpsimus** : I will aduenture to put for **Magnanimitie** / a worde more familiar / callynge it good courage / whiche hauynge respecte to the sayd definition / shall nat seme moche inconuenient. But nowe concernyng a more large description of the sayd vertue.

Aristotel.

Aristotle saietb : That man semeth to be of noble courage / that is worthy & also iugeth hym selfe worthy to haue thinges that be great. He saietb also afterwarde : noble courage is an ornamēt of vertues / for it maketh them the more ample / and without them she her selfe may nat be. But I will for a litle tyme leaue this noble Philosopher Aristotelle / and reuerently interpret a place in the offices of Tulli / where he moste eloquently and playnely setteth out this vertue / sayenge : All way a valiaunt and noble courage is discerned by two thinges specially / wherof one is in despisinge thynges outwarde. whan a man is perswaded / neyther to meruayle at any thyng / neyther to wyssh be or desire any thyng / but that which

is honest. More ouer that a mā shulde nat
bowe for any fortune or trouble of mynde.
Another thinge is that whan thou arte of
that mynde or courage / as I before sayde /
than that thou practyse those thynges / nat
onely which be great and moste profitable /
but also them that be very difficile and full
of labour and perylle / aswell concernynge
mannes lyfe / as many other thynges there-
vnto praynyng. And afterwarde the same
Tulli sayeth: To esteeme litle those thynges /
whiche vnto the more parte of men semeth
excellent / and also with reason firme & stable
to contemne them / it is signe of a noble and
valyaunt courage. Also to tollerate those
thynges which do seme bytter or greuous
(wherof there be many in the lyfe of man
and in fortune) in suche wise as thou depte
nat from the astate of nature / neyther from
the worshipp pertaynyng vnto a wise man /
betokeneth a good courage / and also mo-
che constaunce. By this it semeth that
Magnanimitie or good courage / is as it
were the garmēt of Vertue: wherwith she
is set out (as I mought saye) to the ytter-
moste. I meane nat that therby vertue is a-
mended or made more beauteous / which
of her selfe is perfecte. But lyke wise as a
lady

The Governour.

lady of excellent beaultie / thoughe that she be all wayes sayre / yet a ryche and fresshe garment declareth her astate / and causeth her the more to be looked on / and thereby her naturall beaultie to be the better perceyued. Semblably dothe Magnanimitie ioyned with any vertue / sette it wonderfully furthe to be beholden / and (as I mought saye) meruayled at / as it shall appere abundauntely in the examples ensuinge.

Agessilaus / king of Lacedemonia / in the begynninge of his youthe / perceyuinge that all Grece was in great feare / for the same that was sprad of the comynge of the Persians / with an infinite armye: He with a noble courage profred nat onely to desede his owne contray / but also with a small hoste to passe the sees in to Asia / and frame thens either to brynge victorie of the Persians / or els a sure & honorable peace. with whose courage / the Lacedemones highly recomforted / delyuered vnto hym. x. thousande souldiours: with the whiche hoste he went in to Asia / and there vainquished the Persians / and retourned ioyfully in to his contray / with his people all saulfe to his perpetuall renoume / and also the honour and
suertie

fuertie of all Greece.

Antigonus / kynge of Macedonia beinge on the see / one of his capitaines aduised him to departe / sayenge that the nauye of his enemye was moche gretter in numbze than his / where vnto with a noble courage he answered : And for howe many shippes accounte you oure persone / wherewith his people toke suche comforte that they boldlye dyd set furth / and vainquished their enemyes .

Suche noble courage was in great kynge Alexander / that in hys warres agayne Darius / he was sene of all hys people fightyng in the prease of his enemyes bare heded. I wyll nat be so vncurtaise to leaue vnremembred in this place the notable Magnanimitie of a kynge of Englande / whiche I hapned to rede late in an olde cronycle .

Edgare / who in the tyme that the Saxons had this realme in subiectiō / hadde subdued all the other kynges Saxons / and made them his tributaries.

On a tyme he hadde theim all with hym at dyner / and after it was shewed hym that Rynande kynge of Scottes / hadde sayde / that he woundred howe it shulde

The Conerionne

shulde happen / that he and other kynges
that were tall and great personages / wolde
suffre them selves to be subdued by so litle a
body as Edgare was . Edgare dissembled &
answered nothinge / but saynyng to go on
huntinge / he toke with him the Scottishe
kyng in his company / and purposely with-
drew him fro them that were with hym ;
And causyng by a secrete seruaunt / two
swerdes to be conuayed in to a place in the
forest by hym appointed : as soone as he
came thither he toke the one sworde and
delyuered the other to Rinande / byddinge
hym to proue his strength / and to assaye
whither his dedes wolde ratifie his wor-
des : wherat the Scottishe kyng beinge
abasshed / beholdyng the noble courage of
Edgare / with an horrible feare cōfessed his
errour / desirynge pardon / whiche he with
moste humble submission at the laste op-
tayned. That noble kyng Edgare / decla-
ryng by his Magnanimitie / that by his
vertue / & nat by chaunce / he was elected to
reigne ouer so noble a region .

Plato / for his diuine wisdom and elo-
quence / named the god of Philosophers /
was sent for by Dionise kyng of Sicile / to
the intent / as it semed / that he wolde be of
him .

him instructed / concernyng the polityke
gouernaunce of his realme : But whan he
had ben with him a certaine space / & wolde
nat flatter with the kinge / and vpholde his
tyrannye / the kinge became wery of him / in
so moche / that if it had nat ben at the re-
queste of Architas prince of Tarent / he
wolde haue put hym to dethe . wherfore
partely at the desire of that prince / partely
for feare of the Atheniēsis / he licēced Plato
to departe without damage : but at his de-
partyng he sayde vnto him / as it were in
despite : O howe euill wilt thou speke of
me Plato / whan thou comest amonge thy
cōpanyons and scolers. Than Plato with a
noble courage answered : God defende /
there shulde be in my scole so moche va-
caunt tyme frō the studie of wisedome / that
there mought be any place leste / ones to
remembre the . Nowe will I make an ende
of this vertue / and procede further to write
of some vices / whiche cōmunely do folowe
Magnanimitie / and with great difficultie
may be exchued .

Of Obstinacie / a familiar vice / folowinge
Magnanimitie. Cap. xv.

The

The Governour.

The prince of Oratours / Marcus Tullius / in his firste booke of Offices / sayeth / that in height & greatnesse of courage / is moste soneste ingendred obstinacie / and inordinate desire of soueraignetie. Obstinance / is an affection immouable / fixed to wille / abandoninge reason / whiche is ingendred of Pryde / that is to saye / whan a mā esteemeth so moche hym selfe aboue any other / that he reputeth his owne witte onely / to be in perfection / and contemneth all other counsayle. Vndoubtedly this is an horrible & perylouse vice / & very familiare with them / whiche be of moste noble courages. By it many a valyaunt capitayne & noble prince / haue nat onely fallen them selves / but also brought all their contrayes in daungeour / and often tymes to subuercion and ruyne. The wise kinge Salomon sayeth: Amonge proude men / be all way cōtētions. And they that do all thinges with counsayle / be gouerned by wisdom. I nede nat to reberce exāples out of olde writars / what damage haue ensued of obstinacie / considering that euery bistorye is full therof / & we styll haue it in dayly experience: But of one thinge am I sur / where obstinacie ruleth / and reason lacketh

meane place betwene the toppe / & the stepe
 downe. To the whiche wordes / Tulli agre-
 inge sayeth / that hygh autorities / shulde
 nat moche be desired / or rather nat to be
 taken at some tyme: and often tymes to be
 lest and forsaken. So dyd Sylla whome I
 late spake of. And Diocletian Emperour of
 Rome / who after that he had gouerned the
 empyre .xxv. yeres honorably (if he had nat
 ben polluted with the bloode of innumera-
 ble Chrusten men) he willingly abandoned
 the crowne and dignitie imperiall / & lyued
 nyne yeres on his priuate possessions. And
 on a tyme he beinge desired of Herculus
 & Galerius / vnto whome he had resigned
 the empyre / to take estones on him the go-
 uernaunce / abhorryng it as a pestilence / aun-
 swered in this wise: I wolde ye dyd see the
 herbes that I haue with myne owne hâdes
 sowne & sette at Salona / suerly ye wolde nat
 than in this wise aduise me. Also Octavius
 Augustus whiche in felicitie passed all em-
 perours: deuised often tymes with his
 frendes to haue resigned his autoritie. And
 if at that tyme the Senate had ben as well
 founniss bed with noble and wise psonages /
 as it was before the Liulle warres / betwene
 Cesar and Pompei. It is to be thought /

b.ij. that

Cl. off. l.

Sertius
Aurelius.

The Governour.

Cl. offi. i.

that he wolde surely haue restored the publike weale to his pristinate glorie. But nowe let vs see/what is the cause why that Ambition is so pernicious to a publike weale. And in myne oppinion it is for two causes principally. Fyyste for as moche as they whiche be of that courage & appetite/whan they be in auctorite / they suppose all thynge to be lesfull that lyketh them. And also by reason of their preeminence / they wolde so be separte from other/that no man shulde countrolle the / or warne the of their enormities : & finally they wolde do what they list without contradiction. wherof do ensue diuers iniuries and subuersion of iustyce. And that this whiche I haue nowe sayd is true/Tulli affirmeth sayenge. Verely it is a great difficultie / where thou woldest be aboue all men to obserue equitie. whiche is the thinge moste appropried to iustice / and shortly after he sayeth. The more higher of courage that a mā is & desirous of glorie/ the soner is he meued to do thinges agayne ryght : seyng that it was so in the tyme of Tulli whan all moste every mā that was in auctoritie had excellent lernynge (the Romanes bringynge vp their children in study of morall philosophie) what shall we than suppose

suppose in our tyme/whā fewe men in auto-
rite do care for lernynge: why shulde we
thynke to be more iustice nowe vsed in
autozitie/than was in the tyme of Tulli? is
there nat nowe priuate affection: particuler
sauour/displeasure and batede as was at
that tyme? I wolde that the redars here-
of be iuges examynynge these my wordes
with dayly experience. The seconde cause
that condemneth ambition is couatysle of
treasure/therwith to maintaine their ostēta-
ciō & vayne glorie/which ambitious psones
do calle their honour/wherby they be pecu-
red to finde iniust meanes by their autoritie
to pvide for suche substaūce/wherwith they
may be nat onely satisfied (they beinge insa-
ciable) but according to their owne appetite
fully suffised. wherfore the Philosophers
called Stoici/used this sentence. Great indi-
gēce or lacke cometh nat of pouertie/ but of
great plentie/for he that hath moche shal
nede moche. But certes suche psones Ambi-
cious may well cōsider that the men magni-
ficēce & pompe/which they couaite/is nat so
moche wōdred at/as auarice & collection of
money is vniuersally bated. wherfore Da-
rius king of Persia & father to Xerxes/whā
he had cōmaūded a subsidie to be leuyed of

Conetise.

Plutarchy
in apoth.

d. iij.

bis

The Gouernour.

Ci. off. iiii.

his subiectes/ he demaunded the chiefe men
of the contrayes. whether they founde the
selfe greued / they aunswerynge that they
were in a metely good case / he comaunded
the one halfe to be cistones restored / lest he
of any auarice shulde be suspected. By the
which act he stablissed his dignite & made
it more pfecte. More ouer Tulli saith: To
take any thing fro an other man / & one man
to encrease his commoditie with an other
mannes detryment / is more repugnaunt to
nature / than dethe / than pouertie / payne / or
other thyng that mought happen either
to the body or other goodes worldly. And
this sez nowe suffiseth to speke of ambition.

The true definicion of abstinence and
Continence. Cap. xvi.



Abstinencie and continencie be
also companions of fortitude
and be noble & excellent ver-
tues / & I can nat tell whither
there be any to be preferred
before them / specially in men hauynge au-
toritie they beinge the brydles of two capi-
tall vices : that is to saye / Auarice and Le-
cherie. whiche vices beinge refrayned by a
noble

noble man that liueth at libertie & without
 controlement / procureth vnto hym / beside
 the fauour of god / immortall glorie. And
 that citie or realme wherof the gouernours
 with these vices be litle or nothyng ac-
 quainted / do abide longe in prosperitie. For
 as Valerius Maximus sayeth / where so
 euer this feruent pestylence of mankynde
 hath entry / Iniury reigneth / reproche or
 infamie is spradd and deuoureth the name
 of nobilitie. The properties of these two ver-
 tues be in this maner. Abstinence is wherby
 a man refrayneth from any thinge / whiche
 he may lefully take / for a better purpose.
 Continence is a vertue whiche kepeth the
 pleasaunt appetite of man vnder the yoke
 of reason. Aristotelle in his Ethikes making
 them bothe but one / describeth them vnder
 the name of continence / sayenge / he that is
 continent / for as moche as he knoweth that
 couaitous desires be euill / he dothe aban-
 done them / reason persuadyng hym. For
 this tyme I take abstinence for the wilfull
 abandoninge of money / possessions / or other
 thinge semblable. Continence / the onely for-
 berynge the vnlusfull company of women.

Martius Coreolanus / a noble yonge man
 whiche lineally descended from Ancus som-

Ethl. vii.

Coreolan-
us.

d. iij. tyme

The Gouernour.

sonityme king of Romaines/whan he had
done many valiaūt actes & achieued sondry
enterprises/he was according to his merites
cōmended i the armye by Posthumus thā
being cōsulle. And by their vniuersall assent
he was rewarded with all suche honours/
as thā apptained to a good warriour. Also
with one hūdrede acres of arable lande/the
election of ten prisoners/ten horfis appailed
for the warres/one hundred of Oxen/ & as
moche siluer as he mought beare. But of al
this wolde he take no thing / but one onely
prisoner/whiche was of his acquaintaūce/ &
one courser/whiche all wayes after he vsed
in batayle. **Marcus Lurius** the very rule &
paterne of Fortitude and moderate lyuing
whan the people called Samnites/whiche
had warres with the Romanes/ founde him
sittyng in his house by the fire vpon a
homely fourme/eatyng his meate in a dis-
she of tree: they brynginge to hym a great
some of golde by the consent of the people/
& wondryng at his pouertie/with courtaise
langage/desyred him to take that they had
brought him/he thereat smilinge said thus
vnto thē:ye ministers of a vaine & supfluous
message/shewe you to the Samnites / that
Lurius had leuer haue dominion ouer the
that

Curius.

that by ricche than be him selfe to haue richesse. And as for this golde / whiche ye accounte precious / take it agayne with you / & remembre that ye can neither vainquish me in bataile / nor corrupt me with money.

Quint^{us} Tubero surnamed Catelius / what tyme he was consulle: the people in Greece called Aetoli sent to him by their ambassadours / a great quantitie of siluer / vessell curiously wrought & grauen: But whā they came to him they fōude on his table vessell onely of erthe. And whan he sawe them he exhorted thē that they shulde nat suppose that his Continence / as if it were pouertie / shulde be with their presētes relieved. And with that sayenge / cōmaunded them to departe. To Epaminōdas / the Thebane being in his tyme as well in vertue as prowesse the moste noble man of all Greece / Artbarces king of Persia to make him his frēde / sent one of his seruantes to Thebes / with a great quātitie of treasoure to gyue to Epaminondas: whiche seruant knowynge his maners darst nat offre it vnto him whan he came / but speking to a yonge mā which was familiar with Epaminōdas / gaue vnto him a great rewarde to meue Epaminōdas to receiue the king's presēt. who yneth bering the

Tubero.

Epaminondas.

The Gouernour.

first wordes of the yonge man / comaunded
the kinges seruaunt to be brought vnto him;
vnto whome he had these wordes. Frende
shewe to the kynge that he nedeth nat to
offre me money: for if he haue any thinge to
do with the Thebanes for a good purpose,
he may haue their assistance without any
rewarde: if the purpose be nought / he can
nat with all the treasure of the worlde
hope to optayne it. whiche wordes were
spoken with suche a grauitie that the sayd
seruaunt beyng a ferde desired Epami-
nondas that he mought be saulfly couaied
out of the citie: whiche he graunted with
good will / lest if the money were taken a
way / he mought of the receyuinge therof
haue ben suspected. More ouer he caused
the Thebane which was his frende & com-
panio to restore to the messenger the money
that he had receyued. Semblable Absti-
nence was there in Phocion a noble coun-
saylour of Athenes / vnto whome the am-
bassadours of the great kynge Alexander /
brought from their maister a hundred Ta-
lentes of golde / whiche were of englysshe
money. xj. thousande pounce. But before
that he herde them speke any thyng. He
demanded of them wby to him onely the
kynge

Phocion.

kyng sent so bounteous a rewarde. And they answered for as moche as king Alexander iuged him onely to be a good man & a iuste. I han suffre ye me sayd Phocion to be & to seme the same man that your kyng do iuge me/and cary your golde agayne to him. The same Phocion the ambassadour of Antipater (who succeded the great king Alexander in Macedonia) offred to gyue a great some of money : whiche Phocion despisinge sayde in this wise. Sens Antipater is nat gretter than Alexander/nor his cause better/I do nothinge pceyue why I shulde take any thinge of him. And whā the Draconour wolde haue hadde Phocions sonne to haue taken the money: Phocion answered. If his sonne wolde be lyke vnto hym/he shulde hane no nede/neither of that money nor of none other. If he wolde be vnlike vnto him and of dissolute maners /neyther Antipaters gistes nor none others /were they neuer so great shulde be sufficient. By these examples it dothe appere howe good men dyd all way flee from rewardes / all though they mought haue ben lesfully taken/which in them was neyther soliss hences nor yet rusticitie/but of a prudent consideration. For as moche as bothe by wisdom

and

The Governour.

And experience they knewe / that he whiche
taketh a rewarde before any thinge done /
is no longer at libertie / but of a free man is
made bonde / in as moche as he hath taken
ernest for his true endeuour. Also by the
takynge he is become an euill man though
before he were good / for if he receyued it
for an euill purpose / he is thanne a wretche
and detestable. If the matter were good /
than is he nat rightwise in sellynge a good
deede. whiche he aught to do thankefully
and without rewarde. And I doubt nat
who so euer is contented with his present
estate / & supposeth felicitie to be i a meane /
and all excesse to be perillous / will a lowe
these sentences / and thinke them worthy to
be had in remembraunce / specially of them
that be gouernours. For that realme or ci-
tie where men i autorite haue their bandes
open for money / and their houses for pre-
sentes is euer in the waye to be subuerted.
wherfore Caius Pontius prince of Sam-
nites was wont to saye / I wolde god (sayd
he) that fortune had reserued me vnto the
tyme / and that I had be than borne whan
the Romaines shulde begynne to take
gystes. I shulde than nat suffre them any
lenger to rule. Paulus Emilius whanne
be

Pontius
Emilius

he hadde vainquissed kynges Perses / and
 subdued all Macedonia / he brought into
 the commune treasury of Rome an infinite
 treasure / that the substance of that one
 prince discharged all the Romaines to
 paye ever after any taxe or subsidie. And
 yet of all that goodes Emilius brought no
 thinge in to his owne house / but onely per-
 petuall renoume. Scipio whan he hadde
 gotten & destroyed the great citie of Car-
 thage / he was nat therfore the rycher one
 halfe peny. By this it appereth that ho-
 nour resteth nat in richesse / all though some
 pchaunce wyll saye / that their reuenues be
 small / and that they muste take suche re-
 wardes as be lesfull / onely to maintayne
 their honour / but lette them take bede to
 the sayenge of Tulli. Nothyng is more
 to be abhorred / thanne Auarice specially in
 princis and them whiche do gouerne pu-
 blike weales.

Scipio
African;

Ch. vii. 2.

The examples of Continence gyuen
 by noble men. Cap. xxij.

Nowe

The Governour.



Owe wyll I speke of Contia-
nence/whiche is specially in re-
frayninge or forbering the acte
of carnall pleasure/where vnto
a man is feruently meued/or is
at libertie to haue it. whiche vndoughtedly
is a thinge hat onely difficile/ but also woder-
full in a man noble or of great auctoritie/ but
i suche one as it hapneth to be/ nedes muste
be reputed moche vertue and wisdomē / &
to be supposed that his mynde is intvincible/
considerynge that nothyngē so sharpcly
assaileth a mannes mynde/ as dothe carnall
affection/ called (by the folowars therof)
loue : wherfore Plato sayeth that the soule
of man whiche by loue is possessed/ dieth in
his owne body/ and lyueth in an other.

Alexander

The great kynge Alexander after his firste
victorye agayne kynge Darius/ battinge all
wayes i his hoste/ the wife of the same Da-
rius/ whiche incōparably excelled all other
women in beaultie. After that he had ones
sene her / he neuer after wolde haue her
come i his ptesence. All be it that he caused
her estatē still to be maintayned / and with
as moche honour as euer it was / sayenige
to them whiche wondryngē at the ladies
beautie/ meruailed why Alexander byd nat
desire

desire to haue with her cōpany / he answered /
 that it shulde be to hym a reproche / to be
 any wise subdued by the wife of him / whom
 he had vainquissed. Antiochus the noble Antioch^o.
 king of Asia / beinge in the citie of Ephesum /
 behelde a virgine beinge a Dynchen in the
 temple of Diana / to be of excellent beautie :
 where he pcciuing him selfe to be rauished
 in the loue of the mayden / he hastily & im-
 mediately departed out of the citie / lest loue
 shulde constrayne him to violate a virgine :
 wisely considerynge that it was best to ab-
 stayne from doinge batayle with that ene-
 mye / whiche ynethe mought be vainquiss-
 shed / but with flight onely . The valyaunt
 Pompei / whanne he had vainquissed the Pōpilius.
 kynge Mitridates / and had taken diuers
 of his Lōcubines / which in beautie excelled /
 he wolde haue no carnall knowlege with
 any of them : but whan he knewe that they
 were of noble lignage / he sent them vnde-
 filed to their parentes and kynnessfolke . Scipio.
 Semblably dyd Scipio whan he wanne
 Carthage . For amōge diuers women whi-
 che were there taken : one moste fairest of
 other / was brought vnto hym to do with
 her his pleasure . But after that she had
 discovered to him that she was affianced
 to

The Governour.

to a gentill man called Indibilis/ because
him to be sent for/ and when he behelde the
lamentation & signes of loue betwene the/ he
nat onely deliuered her to Indibilis with
her raunsome/ whiche her frendes hadde
payde for her redemption: but also added
thereto an honorable porcion of his owne
treasour/ by the whiche Continence & libe-
ralitie/ he wanne the hartes of Indibilis &
all his blode/ wherby he the soner obtained
& wanne all the contraye. Of this vertue
be exaples innumerable/ as well of gentiles
as of christen men. But these for this tyme
shall suffice: sauynge that for the straunge-
nesse of it I will reberce a notable historie/
whiche is remembred by the moste excellēt
doctour saynt Hierome. Valerian beinge
emperour of Rome/ and persecutyng the
churche. In Egypt a christen man was pre-
sented vnto him/ whome he beholdynge to
be yonge and lusty: thinkynge therfore to
remoue him from the saythe rather by ve-
neriall motions/ thanne by sharpenesse of
tourneementes/ caused hym to be layde in a
bedde within a fayre gardayne/ hauynge
about him all flowres of swete odour and
moste delectable sauours & perfumes. And
than caused a fayre tender yonge woman to
be

A wōder-
full conti-
nence in
Christen
marrye.

he layde by him all naked / who ceased nat
sweetely and louingly to embrace and kysse
him / shewing to him all pleasaunt deuises /
to the intent to prouoke him to do fornicatiō.
Ther lacked litle that the yōge mā was
nat vainquished / & that the fless he yelded
nat to the seruice of Venus / that pceyuinge
the yonge man / whiche was armed with
grace / and seinge none other refuge / he with
his tecthe dyd gnawe of his owne tunge /
wberin he suffred suche incredible paynes
that therewith the furious breennyng of vo
luptuous appetite was vitterly extinct. In
this notable acte I wote nat which is to be
moste cōmended / either his inuincible cou
rage in resisting so moche agayne nature / or
his wisdom in subduyng the lasse payne
with the more: and bytinge of that / wberby
he mought be constrayned to blaspheme
god / or renounce his religion. Suer I am
that he therfore receyued immortall lyfe &
perpetuall glorie. And this I suppose suffi
seth to perswade men of good nature to em
brace Continence / I meane nat to lyue euer
chaste: But to honour matrimony / and to
haue good awayte / that they lette nat the
sparkes of concupiscence growe in great
flames / wberewith the wyttes shall be
c dried

The Conetion.

dryed vp / and all noble vertues shall be deuoured.

Of Constance or Stabilitie. Cap. xviij.



N buyldinge of a fortresse / or other honorable mantion / it aught to be well considered that the cement / wherewith the stones be layde / be firme and well bindyng. For if it be brokle & will mouldre a way with euery shoure of raine / the buyldyng may nat contynewe / but the stones beinge nat surely couched & mortred falleth a way one after an other : & finally the hole house is defaced & falleth in ruyne. Semblably / that man which in childehode is brought vp in sondry vertues : if eyther by nature or els by custome / he be nat induc-
ted to be all way constant and stable / so that he meue nat for any affection grieve or displeasure / all his vertues will shortly decaye / and in the estimation of men be but as a shadowe / and be soone forgotten. Also if a paynter hadde wrought in a table some pece of portrayture wonderfull elegant & pleasaunt to beholde / as well for the good proportion & figure / as for the freshe and delect-

delectable colours: But for as moche as in
temperynge his colours he lacked good
size/wherwith they shulde haue ben boun-
den & made to endure/after that the image
hathe ben a litle while pleasaunt to the be-
holders/ the colours beyng nat suerly
wrought either by moystnesse of wether re-
lenteth or fadeth/ or by some stroke or falle
scaleth of/ or mouldreth a waye/ by reason
wherof the image is vtterly deformed/ and
the industrie of the warke man beinge neuer
so excellent is perished/ and accounted but
for a vanitie. So be that hath all the giftes
of nature & fortune/ and also in his childe-
hode is adourned with doctrine & vertue/
whiche he hath acquired with moche tra-
uayle/watche/and studye/ if he adde nat to
constance/ whan he cometh to the tyme of
experience/whiche experience is as it were
the warke of the craftes man: but meued
with any priuate affection/ or feare of ad-
uersitie or exterior damage will omitte any
parte of his lernynge or vertue: the estima-
tion of his persone immediatly ceaseth a-
monge perfecte warkemen/ that is to saye/
wise men: and finally nothyng beinge in
him certayne or stable/ what thinge in hym
may be comended? And in one thyng me

The Governour.

seemeth that Constance hath equall prayse
with iustyce: That is to saye / that he that
is him selfe iniuste / loueth that persone that
dealeth iustely with him: and contrary wise
hateth that persone / that dealeth iniustely /
or dothe him wronge. In like wise he / whi-
che is inconstant / extollet him / whome he
fyndeth constant: and desireth to haue him
his frende: on the other parte whome he
proueth inconstant and wauerynge / he is
angry with him / & accounteth him a beeste /
and vnworthy the company of men: and
awayteth diligently to trust hym with no-
thinge. we note in children inconstance / and
likewise in women / the one for sklendernesse
of witte / the other as a naturall sickenesse.
Therefore men vse in rebukynge a man of in-
constance / to calle hym a childish he or wo-
manly persone. All be it some women nowe
a dayes be founden more cōstant than men /
& specially in loue towarde their husbādes /
or els mought there happen to be some
wronge inheritous. Constance is as propre
vnto a man as is reason: And is of suche
estimation / that according as it was spoken
of a wise man / it were better to haue a con-
stant enemye / thanne an inconstant frende:
wherof I my selfe haue had sufficient expe-
rience

rience. But nowe to declare some experience of constance wherby the reders may be the more thereto prouoked / I will reberce some examples therof out of olde histories / as I shal happen to remembre them. After that Sylla hadde vainquished Marius / and destroyed the parte of his aduersaries / he with a great numbre of persones all armed enuironed the senate / intendynge to compell them by violence to condemne Marius for a traytour : whiche request none darste agayne saye / Sceuola onely excepte / who beinge therof demaunded / wolde gyue no sentence. But whan Sylla dyd cast therfore on him a cruell countenaunce / he with a constant visage and noble courage said to him: Sylla all though thou facist and threttist me with thy multitude of Souldiours / with whome thou hast thus besieged this court / ye and all though thou doest menace me with dethe neuer so moche / yet shalt thou neuer brynge it to passe / that for shedyng a litle olde blode I shal iuge Marius a traytour / by whome this citie / & all Italy haue ben preserued.

Scevola.

The constance that great kynge Alexander had in trustynge his frende agayne false reports / saued his lyfe / whereof all men be
e.ij. spaired

alexanders
confidenc.

The Governour.

spaired for after that noble batayle wherin
he had vainquished Darius and taken his
treasure as he passed through Cilicia be-
yng sore chaufed with feruent heate and
the lengthe of his iourney as he came by
the ryuer called Lydnus beholding it clere
and pleasaunt and thinkyng to a swage
therin the heates that he suffred he went
there into naked and dranke therof: But
immediately by the excedinge colde which
was in that water his sinewes shranke and
his iointes became ynweldy and as they
were dede / all his hoste being discōforted
he was conuayed to a citie thereby called
Tarsum. where vpon the Phisicians assem-
bled and deuisinge for the best remedy they
all were determined to gyue hym one me-
dicine and that it shulde be ministred by
one Philippe / chiefe phisicion with Alex-
ander. In the meane tyme Parmenio / one
of the grettest capitaynes about Alexander
aduertised hym by his letters / that he
shulde beware of the trayson of the sayde
Philippe / sayenge that he was corrupted
with a great some of money by Darius:
wherwith he beinge nothing esbaied helde
in his handes the letter and receyuinge the
medicynes that Philippe gaue hym he at
one

one tyme deliuered the letter open to Phylippe and dranke also the medicine: declaringe therby the constance that was in his frends hip. whiche truste / nat onely caused nature the better to warke with the medicine / but also bounde so the harte of the Physicion towarde him / that he euer after studyed more diligently for the helpe and preservation of the noble prince / that dyd so moche trust hym.

The Constance of Lato Uticensis was all waye immoueable / in so moche as at sondry tymes / whanne he in the Senate egrely defended the publike weale with vehement & longe orations / agayne the attemptates of ambitious persones: he was by them rebuked & comitted to prisone: But he therefore nat cessynge / but goinge towarde prisone / detected to the people as he went / the vnlesfull purposes and enterprises of them / by whome he was punisshed / with the pyle that was imminent to the publike weale: whiche he dyd with suche courage and eloquence that as well the Senate as the people drew so about him / that his aduersaries were fayne for feare to discharge him.

who can sufficiently comende this noble man Lato / whan he redeth in the warkes

c. iij.

of

The Governour.

of Plutarcke of his excellent courage and vertue: howe moche worthyar had be bene to haue hadde Homere the trumpe of his fame immortall/ than Achilles: who for a lytle wenche contended with Agamemnon onely: where Lato for the conseruation of the weale publike contended and also resisted agayne Julius Caesar and the greatte Pompey/ and nat onely agayne theyr menaces/ but also agayne theyr desyres/ and offres of aliaunce. where of I wolde gladly haue made a remembrance in this warke/ if the volume there by shulde nat to moche haue increased and becomen vnbandsome.

Vndoughtedly constaunce is an honorable vertue / as inconstance is reprochefull and odious. wherfore that man whiche is mutable for euerye occasyon / muste nedes often repente hym / and in moche repentance is nat only moche soly / but also great detriment: whiche euery wyse man wyll eschue if he can. wherfore to gouernours nothing is more prope than to be in theyr luyng stable and constant.

The true signification of Temperaunce a morall vertue. Cap. xij.

This



This blessed companie of vertues in this wyse assembled followeth Temperaunce/as a sad and discrete matrone and reuerent gouernesse/awaitinge diligently that in any wyse voluptie or concupiscence haue no preeminence in the soule of man. Aristotle defineth this vertue to be a mediocrite in the pleasures of the body/specially in taste & touching:therfore he that is temperate fleeth pleasures voluptuous / & with the absence of them is nat discontented/and from the presence of them he wyllyngly abstayneth. But in myne oppinion Plotinus the wonderfull philosopher maketh an excellent definition of temperaunce/sayenge: that the proprietie or office thereof is to couaite nothyng whiche maye be repented / also nat to excede the boundes of medyocritye / and to kepe desyre vnder the yocke of reason. He that practiseth this vertue is called a temperate man: and he that doeth contrarye there to is named intemperate: betwene whome and a personne incontynent Aristotelle makethe this diuersytye: that he is intemperate whyche by his owne election is ladde/supposynge that the pleasure that is presente

arist. eth.

The Gouvernour.

or (as I mought saye) in vire shulde all
waye be folowed. But the persone inconti-
nent supposeth nat so / and yet he nat with-
standinge dothe folowe it. The same autour
also maketh a diuersitie betwene hym that
is tēperate / & him that is continent: sayeng
that the continent man is suche one that no
thinge will do for bodely pleasure / whiche
shall stande agayne reason. The same is he
whiche is temperate / sauynge that the other
hathe corrupte desyres / whiche this man
lacketh. Also the temperate man deliteth
in nothyng contrarye to reason. But he
that is continent deliteth: yet will he nat be
ladde agayne reason. Finally to declare it
in fewe wordes / we may well calle hym a
Temperate man / that desireth the thyng
whiche he aught to desire / and as he aught
to desyre / and whanne he aught to desyre.
Nat withstandynge there be diuers other
vertues / whiche do seme to be as it were
cōpanyons with temperaunce. Of whome
(for the exchuyng of tediousnes) I wyll
speke nowe onely of two / moderation / and
sobrenesse / whiche no man (I suppose)
doughteth to be of suche efficacie / that with-
out them no man may attayne vnto wise-
dome: & by them wisdom is sonest espied.

Of

Of Moderation a spice of temperance. Cap. xx.



Moderation is the limites and boundes whiche honestie hath appoynted in spekyng and doynge; lyke as in rennyng/passyng the gole is accounted: but rash henesse / so rennyng halfe waye is reproved for slownesse. In like wise wordes and actes be the paces / wherin the witte of man maketh his course / and moderation is instede of the gole / whiche if he passe ouer he is noted either of presumption or of foole hardinesse / if he come short of the purpose / he is contemned as dulle & vnapt to affaires of great importaunce. This vertue shall best be perceiued by reherfinge of examples shewed by noble men: whiche is in effecte but dayly experience. Fabius Maximus beinge syue tymes Consul / perceyuinge his father / his graundefather / & great graunde father and diuers other his auncetours to haue had often tymes that most honorable dignitie: whan his sonne by the vniuersall consent of the people shulde be also made consul / he earnestly intreated the people to spare his sonne / and to gyue to the house of Fabius

The Conemont.

Fabius / as hit were a vacation tyme from
that honoure / nat for that he hadde anye
mystrust in his sonnes vertue and honesty :
but that his moderation was suche that he
wolde nat that excellent dignitie shulde al-
way continue in one familie. **Scipio Affri-**
canus the elder / whā the senate and people
had purposed / that accordinge to his meri-
tes he shuld haue certaine statues or ima-
ges set in al courtes and places of assembly.
Also they wold haue set his image in trium-
phāt apparaile within the capitolē / & haue
grated to him to haue ben cōsul & Dictator
during his lyfe: he nat withstanding wolde
nat suffre that anye of them shulde be de-
creed either by the acte of the senate / or by
the peoples suffrage. where in he shewed
bym selfe to be as valiant in refusing of ho-
nours / as he was in the actes / where in he
had them well deserued. There is also mo-
deration in tolleration of fortune of euerye
sorte : whiche of **Tulli** is called equabilite.
whiche is whan there semeth to be alwaye
one visage and countenance / neuer changed
nor for prosperitie nor for aduersite.

Metellus called **Numidicus** in a cōmon se-
dicion beyng banissed from Rome / & aby-
ding in **Asia** / as he beganed to sit with noble
men

Tollerati
on of for-
good and
badde.

men of that countray in beholding a great play / ther were letters deliuered him / wher by he was ascertained / that by the hole consent of the senate & people his retourne into his coutray was graunted. He (natwithsta-
ding that he was of that tidinges exceding ioifull) remeued nat vntyll the playes were ended / nor any mā sitting by hym mought pceiue in his countenance any token of gladnes. The great kynge Antiochus whiche longe tyme hadde in his dominion all Asia / whiche is accounted to be the thirde part of the worlde : whan at the laste beinge vainquissed by Lucius Scipio he had lost the more parte of his empire / and was assigned but to a smal porcion / he vsed his fortune so moderately / that he gaue great thanks to the Romanes / that beinge delyuered of so greatte burdon and charge / he more easely mought gouerne a litle dominion. Alexander emperour of Rome / so in this vertue excelled / that beinge electe & made emperour at. xvj. yeres of his age whan the senate & people for his vertue / wherin he passed al other wolde haue hym called the great Alexander & father of the countray / whiche of all names was bygbeste : he with a wonderfull grauite refused it / sayeng / that it behoued
that

The Governour.

that those names were optayned by mer-
rites & ripenesse of yeres. The same prince
also wolde nat suffre his emperesse to vse in
her apparayle any richer stones than other
ladyes/and if any were gyuen her/he either
caused them to be solde / or els gaue them
vnto Temples/affirmyng that the example
of pompe and inordinate expensis shulde
nat procede of the Emperours wyfe. And
whan so: the honoure that he dyd to the
Senate and lawes/his wife and his mother
rebuked him/ sayenge that he shulde bring
the emperyall maiestie into to lowe an
astate: he aunswered that it shulde be the
surer & continue the longer. There is also
a Moderation to be vsed agayne wrathe or
appetite of vengeance. Hadriane the em-
perour / while he was but a priuate person/
bare towarde a capitayne greuous displea-
sure/who afterwarde berynge that he was
made emperour was in great feare lest Ha-
driane wolde be aduenged. But whan he
came to the emperours presence: he nothing
dyd/or said to hym but only these wordes.
Thou haste well escaped. By the whiche
wordes he well declared his moderation/
and also that who so euer putteth on the
habite of a tomon persone or governour/it
shall

Moderas-
tion of
wrathe.

That nat besemie him to reuenge priuate displeasures. Architas whā he had bene a lōge space out of his countrey / & at his retourne fōude his possessions and goodes destroyed and wasted. He sayd to his baylife. I wold surely punissh be the if I shuld nat be angry. Moche lyke dyd Plato / for whan his seruauant had offended hym greuously he desired Speusippus his frēde to punissh be him / leeste (sayde he) if I beate hym / I shulde happe to be angry. wherin Plato deserued more praise than Architas / in as moche as he obserued his pacience / and yet dyd nat suffre the offence of his seruauant to be unpunisshed. For most often tymes the omittinge of correction redoubleth a trespase. Semblable moderation & wisdom Aulus

Au. Sen.

Gellius remembreth to be in Plutarche the philosopher / whiche was mayster to Traiane the emperour. It hapned that the bōdeman of Plutarch had cōmitted some greuous offence. wherfore his mayster wylled / that he shulde be sharply punisshed : wherfore cōmaunding hym to be striped naked / caused an other of his seruantes in his presence to beate hym. But the slaue who as it semed was lerned while he was in beatynge cried out on Plutarche

The Governour.

tarche and in maner of reproche sayd vnto
hym/bowe agreeth this with thy doctrine/
that preacheſt ſo moche of pacience/ and in
all thy leſſons reproueſt wraſhe: & nowe cō-
trary to thyn owne teaching / thou arte all
inflamed with wraſhe / & clene frō the paci-
ence / which thou ſo moche prayſeſt? Vnto
whom Plutarche without any chaunge of
countenance / answered in this ſourme:
Thou embraideſt me cauſeles with wraſh
and impacience/ but I praye the what per-
ceyueſt thou in me / that I am angry or out
of pacience? I ſuppoſe (except I be moche
deceiued) thou ſeeſt me nat ſtare with myn
eyen/or my mouthe imboſed/ or the colour
of my face chaunged / or any other deſor-
mitie in my perſone or geſture / or that my
wordes be ſwyſte/or my voyce louder than
modeſtie requyzeſh / or that I am vntable
in my geſture or motion / whiche be the
ſygnēs and euident tokens of wraſhe and
impacience. wherfore ſaid he to the correc-
tour/ſens he can nat proue that I am yet
angry: in the meane tyme whyle he and I
do diſpute of this matter/and vntyll he vt-
terly do ceſe of his preſumption and obſti-
nacie/loke that thou ſtyle beate him. Verily
in myn oppinion Plutarch herein declared
his

his excellent wysedome and grauitie : as well in his example of pacience / as also in subduynge the stubbourne courage of an obstinate seruaunt / whiche historie shall be expediēt for gouernours to haue in remembrance : that whan according to the lawes / they do punyssh the offendours / they them selves be nat chaufed or meued with wrath : But (as Tulli sayeth) be lyke to the lawes / whiche be prouokedde to punyssh be nat by wrath or displeasure / but onely by equitie. DE. L. And immediately the same autour gyueth an other noble precept concerning moderation in punysshement : sayenge / that in correcting / wrath is principally to be forboden / for he that punyssheth whyle he is angry / shall neuer kepe that meane / whiche is betwene to moche and to lyttell.

Of sobrietie in diete. Cap. iij.



Neerly I nothyng doubt / but that the more parte of the readers of this warke / wyll take in good parte al that is before witten / consideringe the benefite & also the ornament that those vertues of whom I haue spoken / of good reason
f and

and congruence must be to them / in whom they shall be planted and do contynue.

But I knowe well that this chapitre whiche nowe ensueth : shall vneth be thankefully receyued of a fewe readers / ne shall be accounted worthy to be radde of any honourable person / considering that the matter therein contayned is so repugnaunt and aduerse to that perniciousse custome / wherein of lōge tyme men hath esteemed to be the more part of honour / in so moche as I very well knowe that some shall accounte great presumption in this myne attemptate / in writynge agayne that whiche haue bene so lōge vsed. But for as moche as I haue takē vpon me to write of a publike weale / which taketh his begynnyng at the example of them that be gouernours. I wyl nat lette for the dispraise gyuen by them whiche be abused. But with all study and diligence / I wyl descriue the auncient temperaunce and moderation in diete called sobrietie : or in a more general terme frugalite: the acte wherof is at this day as infrequent or out of vse amonge all sortes of men / as the termes be straunge vnto them whiche haue nat bene well instructed in latin.

frugalite.

The noble emperour Augustus who in all
the

the residue of his lyfe was for his modera-
tion and temperance excellently comended/
suffred no litle reproche for as moche as he
in a secrete souper or banquet hauynge with
hym sixe noble men his frendes / and sixe
noble women / and naming hym selfe at that
tyme Apollo / and the other men and wo-
me the names of other goddes & goddesses /
sared sumptuously and delicately / the citie
of Rome at that tyme beinge vexed with
skarcitie of grayne : he therfore was rente
with curses and rebukes of the people : in
so moche as he was openly called Apollo
the turmentour / sayenge also that he with
his goddes had deuoured their corne. with
whiche libertie of speche beinge more per-
suaded than discontented / fro than forth
he vsed suche a frugalitie or moderation of
diete / that he was contented to be serued at
one meale with thre dysshes / or sixe at the
mooste : whiche also were of a moderate
price / and yet therein he vsed suche sobrenes
that either he hym selfe wolde nat sitte vn-
tyl they which dynd with him / had eaten
a good space : or elles if he sate whan they
dyd / he wolde aryse a great space or any of
them had lefte eatynge. And for what pur-
pose suppose ye dyd this emperour in this

The Governour.

wyse in whom was neuer spotte of auarice/
or vyle courage. Certes for two causes: fyrst
knowing the inconueniences that alway do
happé by ingurgitaciōs & excessiue fedinges:
Also that lyke as to hym was commytted
the soueraigne gouernāce of al the worlde/
so wolde he be to all men the generall exam-
ple of lyuinge. Nowe what damages do
happen amonge menne by immoderate ea-
tinge & drynkyng/we be eucry day taught
by experieñce: but to brynge them (as it were
to mennes eyen) I wyll set the out cuidetly.

Firste of sacietie or fulnesse be ingendred
paynfull diseases & sickenneses/as squynces.
Distillations/called rewmes or: poses/hemo-
roydes/great bledynges / crampes / duske-
nesse of sight/the tilike/ and the itiche: with
many other that come nat nowe to my re-
membraunce. Of to moche drynkinge pro-
cedeth dropsies/wherwith the body/& often
tymes the yisage / is swollen and defaced:
bestly fury/wherwith the myndes be peris-
shed/ and of all other moſte odious/swyne
dronkynnesse/wherewith bothe the body &
soule is deformed / and the figure of man is
as it were by inchauntement transfourmed
in to an vgly and lothesome ymage. wher-
fore the Lacedemones somtyme purposely/
caused

Salenus
de fa. tuicō
lib. 7.

caused their rusticall seruantes to be made very dröke / and so to be brought in at their commune dyners / to the intent that yonge men beholdynge the deformitie and hastye fury of them / that were dronkardes / shulde lyue the more sobriely / and shulde eschue dronkynnesse / as a thyng foule and abhominable .

Also Pittacus (one of the seven sages of Grece) dyd constitute for a lawe / that they whiche beyng dronke dyd offende / shulde sustaine double punisshement: that mē shuld the more dilygently forbere to be dronke .

It is right euidēt to euery wise man / who at any tyme hathe baunted affayres / wher vnto was required contēplation or seriouse study / that to a man hauing due concoction and digestion as is expedient / shall in the mornynge fastynge / or with a litle refection / nat onely haue his inuencion quicker / his iugement pfecter / his tonge rediar / but also his reason fresher / his eare more attentife / his remembraunce more sure / and generally all his powars and wittes more effectuell / and in better astate / than after that he hath eaten abundantly / which I suppose is the cause why the auncient courtes of recorde in this realme haue euer benne ysed to be

f. iij.

kept

what proe-
fite is in
sobrietye
and what
discom-
fort hap-
neth by
the con-
trary.

The Governour.

kept onely before none. And surely the consideration is wonderfull excellent/ and to be (as I mought saye) superstitiously obserued: the reasons why/ be so apparaunt/ that they nede nat here to be reherfed.

Pythagoras was neuer sene to eate any fyssh or fless he/ but only herbes & frutes. Semblably dyd many other / who exactly folowed his doctrine. wherfore it was supposed / that they the rather excelled all other in findynge out the secretes and hydde knowleges of nature/ whiche to other were impenetrable.

Plato (or rather Socrates/ Plato indycatinge) in his seconde booke of the publyke weale/ wylleth that the people of his citye/ whiche he wolde constitute / shulde be norysshed with barly brede & cakes of whete/ and that the residue of their diete shulde be salte/ olyues/ chese/ and likes/ and more ouer wortes that the feldes do brynge furthe/ for their potage: but he addeth to as it were to make the dyner more delicate / figges / benes/ myrtill beryes/ and beech mast/ whiche they shulde roste on the coles/ & drynke to it water moderately: so (sayeth he) they lyuinge restfully and in helthe vnto extreme age/ shall leaue the same maner of lyuinge/ vnto

unto their successours. I knowe well some
redars/for this diete appointed by Socra-
tes/will skorne him/accountyng hym for a
foole / who nat onely by the answer of A-
pollo but also by the consent of all excellent
writars/that folowed hym/and the yniuer-
fall renoume of all people / was approued
to be the wisest man of all Grecia. Certes
I haue knowen men of worshipp in this
realme/whiche durynge their yongth haue
dröken for the more parte water: of whome
some yet lyueth in great auctorytie / whose
excellencie/as well in sharpnesse of wytte/as
in exquisite lernynge / is all redy knowen
throughe all Christendome.

But here men shall nat note me / that I
wryte this / as who sayeth that noble men
in this realme shulde lyue after Socrates
diete/wherin hauinge respecte to this tyme
and region/they mought perchaunce fynde
occasion to reprove me: surely lyke as the
excesse of fare is to be iustly reprovied/ so in
a noble man moche pinchynge and nygard-
shyppe of meate and drinke is to be discom-
mended.

I can nat comende Aelius Pertinax / who
beinge emperour of Rome/wolde haue his
gestes serued with a plante of lettuse deuyn-
ded

The Gouernour:

ded in two partes: and except some thyng
were sent hym / he wolde appoynte nyne
pounde weyght of flesshe vnto thre messes,
and if any dysshe bapned to be brought to
hym / he caused it to be sette vp vntyll the
nexte daye.

I am ashamed to remembre that he wolde
sende to his frēdes two morsselles of meate/
a peece of a podynge / or the carkasse of a ca-
pon. This was but miserye and wretched
nygardeshippe in a man of suche honour.

In lyke maner who will nat haue in extre-
me detestation the insatiable gloteny of Vi-
tellius / Fabius Burges / Apicius / and dy-
uers other: to whiche carmozantes / neither
lande / water / ne ayre / mought be sufficient.

Neither the curiositie and wanton appe-
tite of Deliogabalus emperour of Rome /
is of any wise man alowed: who beinge at
Rome / or ferre frō the see / wolde eate onely
see fyssh: And whan he soiourned nighe to
the see / he wolde touche no fyssh but whi-
che was taken out of the ryuer of Tybre / or
other places of equall or of more distaunce.
Also he wolde haue disshes of meate made
of Lammelles beeles / the combes of cockes
newly cutte / the tungenes of peccokes & nygh-
tyngales / partriches egges / & other thinges
barde

harde for to come by: wherto be no englyſhe names founden (as I ſuppoſe) apte to the true ſignification.

More ouer all thoughe I diſpraiſed nygarſhippe & vicious ſcarcitie in theſe nobre of diſhes/whiche I haue comended / yet I deſyre nat to haue therein meates for any occaſion to moche ſumptuous. For in one or two diſhes may be employed as moche money as in twentie / perchaunce as good or better in eatynge: wherof there remayneth a noble example of Cleopatra / doughter of Ptolomee late kinge of Egypt (whome Ceſar in his lyfe helde for his Concubine) the ſame lady Antoni (with whome Octauiane deuided the empirc) loued alſo peramours / abandonynge his wyfe / whiche was ſuſter to Octauian. And the warres betwene him and Octauian ceaſynge by a litle ſpace / he (duryng that tyme) lyued in moſte prodigall riotte / & thinkyng all thynge in the ſee / the lande / and the ayre to be made for ſatiſfieng his gloteny / he deuoured all fleſſhe & fyſſhe that mought be any where founden: Cleopatra diſdayninge to be vainquiſhed in any exceſſe by a Romane / layde a wager with Antony / that ſhe her ſelfe wolde receyue in to her body at one ſouper the value

f.v. luc

The Conerment.

lue of fystie thousande poundes / whiche to Antony was thought in a maner to be impossible. The wager was put in to the bandes of Numatius Plancus / a noble Roman. The next day Cleopatra prepared for Antony a ryght sumptuous souper : but wherat Antony nothig meruailed / knowinge the value therof by his accustomed fare / than the quene smylyng called for a goblet / wher into she dyd poure a quātitie of very tarte vinegre / and takynge a perle / whiche bynge at one of her eares / she quickly dyd let it fall in to the vinegre / wherein beyng shortly dissolued (as it is the nature of the perle) she immediately dranke it / and all thoughe she had vainquissed Antony / accordynge to her wager / the perle without any doubt beinge of the value of .l. M. li. yet hadde she lykewyse drunken an other perle of lyke value / whiche was hangynge at her other eare / had nat Numatius Plancus / as an indifferent iudge / furbewith gyuen iugement / that Antony was all redy vainquissed.

I haue reberfed this historie / wrytten by Macrobius / & also Plini / to the intent that the vanitie in sumptuous festinge shulde be the better expressed.

Macrobi
us. sat. li.
Plini. li.
17. ca. xxxv

Andro.

Plinius:
li. xiii. na-
tural. hist.
cap. v.

Androcides (a man of excellent wisdom) wrote vnto the great kynge Alexander an epistell / desyrynge hym to refrayne his intemperance / wherin he sayd : Noble prince whan thou wylte drynke wyne / remember thanne / that thou drynest the bloode of the erthe : Sygnifyenge therby (as I suppose) the myght and powar of wyne / and also warnyng Alexander / of the thirste or appetyte of bloode / whyche wolde ensue by his intemperate drynkyng. For Plini (that writeth this historie) sayth immediately : that if Alexander hadde obeyed the preceptes of Androcides / he hadde neuer slayne his frendes in his dronkenness : for vndoughtedly it maye be sayde with good right / that there is nothing to the strength of mans body more profitable than wyne / ne to voluptuose appetites more pernicious / if measure lacketh. Also it is very truely and properly written of Propertius the poete / in this sentence folowyng or like.

By wyne beaultie fadeth / and age is defaced
wyne maketh forgotten / that late was embraced.

Moreover Salomon in his booke named Ecclesiastes / calleth that countraye happy / whereof the gouernours do eate in theyr tyme. And what shall we suppose is there tyme

The Governour.

tyme but onely that / which nature and the
vniuersall consente of all people hathe or
dayned ? And of what space is that tyme ?
But only that which suffiseth to the abun-
daunt sustentation and nat oppression of na-
ture / ne letteth any parte of their necessary
affaires about the publike weale . This me
semethe may be one exposition of Salomons
sentence . And here will I nowe make an
ende to wryte any more at this tyme of mo-
derate diet / which I haue nat done of any
presumption / but all onely to exhorde gentyll
men to preserue & augment their wittes by
this exhortation to tēperaūce / or suche lyke
by thē selves or some other better deuysed.

Of Sapience / and the defini-
tion therof. Cap. xxij.

Al be it that some men / whiche haue
biderto radde this boke / will suppose
that those vertues / whereof I haue
treated / be sufficient to make a gouernour
vertuous and excellent : Netheles for as
moche as the effecte of myne enterprise in
this warke is / to expresse as farre furtbe as
god shall instructe my poore witte / what
thinges do belōge to the makinge of a per-
feyte publike weale : whiche well nigh may
no more be without an excellēt gouernour /
than

thanne the vniuersall course of nature may
staide or be pmanent without one chiefe dis-
poser & meuer/ which is ouer all supeminēt
in powar/ vnderstanding/ & goodnes. wber-
fore because in gouernaūce be included dis-
position & ordre/ whiche can nat be without
soueraigne knowlege / procedynge of wise-
dome/ in a more elegant worde called Sapi-
ence: Therfore I will now declare as moch
as my litle witte doth comprehend of that
parte of Sapience/ that of necessitie must be
in euery gouernour of a iuste or perfeite
publike weale. The noble philosopher and
moſte excellēt oratour Tullius Cicero/ in the.
iiij. boke of his Tusculane questiōs/ saietb in
this wise. Sapience is the science of thingſ di-
uine & humaine: which cōsidereth the cause
of euery thing by reaso wberof/ that/ which
is diuine ſhe foloweth / that whiche is hu-
mane/ ſhe eſtemith ferre vnder the goodnes
of vertue. This definition agreeth wel with
the giſte of ſapience that god gaue to Salo-
mon/ king of Israell/ who asked onely wise-
dome to gouerne therwith his realme. But
god/ which is the ſoūtayne of ſapience/ graci-
ouſly pōderinge the yonge princes petition/
which pceded of an apt inclinatio to vertue
with his owne moſte bounteous liberalitie
whiche

Ci. tust. q.
li. liii.

The Gouernour.

whiche he purposed to employe on him for
the entiere loue that he had to his father:
he therfore infused in him plétie of all wise
dome and connyng / in thinges as well na-
turall as supernaturall: as it appereth by
the warkes of the same kynge Salomon /
wherin be well nyghe as many wysedomes
as there be sentéces. And in myne oppinion
one thyng is specially to be noted. Kynge
Dauid father to Salomon / was a man of a
rare and meruaylous strength / in so moche
as he hym selfe reporteth in the booke of
kinges that he beinge a chylde and caryeng
to his bretherne their dyner / where they
kept their cattell / slewe firste a great beare / &
after a lyon / whiche fierce & hungrye assaul-
ted him / all though he were vnarmed: and
whether he had any weapon or no it is vn-
certaine sens he maketh therof no mencion.
Also of what prowes he was in armes and
bowe valiaunt and good a capitayne in ba-
tayle: hit maye sufficiently appere to them
that wyll rede his noble actes and achie-
uances in the bokes before remembred.
wherein no good catholyke man wyll any
thyng doute though they be meruaylous.
yet nat withstandyng / all his strength and
puyssaunce was nat of suche effecte / that in
the

the longe tyme of his raygne / whiche was
by the space of .xl. yeres he coulde haue any
tyme vacant from warres. But alway had
rather cōtinuall bataile with the Philisties /
or els was molested with his owne children
and suche as aught to haue ben his frēdes.
Contrary wise his son Salomon / of whome
there is no notable mention made / that he
shewed any commendable feate concerning
martiall prowesse / sauynge the furniture of
his garrysones with innumerable men of
warre / horses & chariotes whiche proueth
nat bym to be valiaunt and stronge / but
onely prudent: he after a lyttell bikerynge
with the Philisties in the begynnyng of his
raygne afterwarde duryng the tyme that
he raygned / contynued in peace without
any notable bataile / or molestation of any
persone: wherfore he is named in scripture /
Rey pacificus / whiche is in englyss he the pea-
sible kinge. And onely by sapience so gouer-
ned his realme / that though it were but a
lytle realme in quantite / it excelled incom-
parably all other in honour and ryches. In
so moche as syluer was at that tyme in the
citie of Hierusalem / as stones in the strete.
wherfore it is to be noted that sapience in
the gouernance of a publike weale / is of
more

The Governour.

more efficacie than strength and puiſſaunce. The auctoritie of ſapiencie is well declared by Salomon in his prouerbes. By me (ſayth ſapiencie) kynges do raigne/and makers of lawes diſcerne thinges that be iuſte. By me prynces do gouerne/and men hauynge power and auctorytie do determyne Juſtyce. I loue all them that loue me/and who that watcheth to haue me/ſhall ſynde me. with me is bothe ryches and honour/ſtately poſſeſſyons and Juſtyce. Better is the frute that cometh of me/ than golde and ſtones that be precyouse. The ſame kyng ſayth in his boke/called Eccleſiaſtice: A kyng without ſapyence ſhall loſe his people/and cities ſhall be inhabited by the wytte of them that be prudent. whiche ſentence was verified by the ſonne and ſucceſſour of the ſame kyng Salomon/called Roboam: to whome the ſayde boke was written. who neglectinge the wiſe and vertuous doctrine of his father/contempned the ſage counſayle of auncient men and embraced the lyte perſuaſions of yonge men & flaterers/wherby he loſte his honour/and brought his realme in perpetuall deuſion. The empire of Rome (whoſe begynnyng/ proſperitie/and deſolation ſemet to be a
mirrour

mirrour and example to all other realmes
and countreyes/declareth to them that ex-
actly beholdeth it/of what force and value
sapience is to be esteemed / beyng begunne
with shepeberdes / sleynge the wrathe and
displeasure of their maysters .

Romulus during the tyme of his raygne/
(whiche was .xxvij. yeres) he nothyng dyd
enterprise without the authorytie & consent
of the fathers. whome he him selfe chose to
to be Senatours . And finally as longe as
the senate cōtynued or increased in the citie
of Rome / & retayned their auctoritie / whi-
che they receyued of Romulus / and was in-
creased by Tullus Hostilius / the thyrde
kyng / they wonderfully prospered / and also
augmented theyr empyre ouer the more
parte of the worlde. But soone after the em-
perour Constantine had abandoned the ci-
tie / and translated the Senate from thens
to Cōstantinople / and that finally the name
and auctoritie of the Senate was by litle &
litle exhauiste / by the negligēce & foly of igno-
rant emperours: nat onely that moſte noble
citie / bedde & princeſſe of the worlde / & foun-
tayne of all vertue and honour / felle in to
moſte lamentable ruyne / but also the ma-
iestie of the empyre decayed ytterly / so that

Diodor
Siculus
liber. 1.

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yneth a litle shadowe therof nowe remayneth/whiche who so beboldeth and conferreth it with Rome/whan it flourished / accordinge as it is lefte in remembraunce by noble writars / he shall yneth kepe teares out of his eyen / beboldynge it nowe as a rotten shepecote in comparison of that citie noble and triumphant. O poure and miserable citie / what sondry tourmentes / excisions/subuersions / depopulations / & other euill aduentures hath hapned vnto the / sens thou were breste of that noble courte of Sapience : whose autoritie if it had alwaye contynued / beyng also confirmed in the fayeth and true religion of Christe/god beyng with the pleased / thou couldest neuer haue bene thus desolate vnto the synall consumation & ende of the worlde. Nowe haue I briefely and generally declared the vtilitie of Sapience/and the mischiefe that hapneth by the defaulte or lacke thereof. The particuler effectes we wyll declare hereafter more specially.

I doubt nat but it is well knowen to euery Catholyke man / that hath the liberall vie of reason/that all maner of vnderstandyng and knowlege/whereof procedeth perfect operation / do take their origynall of that
bygb

hyghe sapience/ whiche is the operatrice of
all thynges. And therfore Salomon / or
Philo/ or who so made the booke called Sa-
pientia/ made his prayer to god in this wise.
Byue to me good lord/ sapience that syt-
teth by thy throne. And in the later ende of
the prayer he sayeth. Sende her from the
sete of thy holynesse/ that she may be with
me and labour with me / and that I may
knowe/ what may be accepted with the.

Orpheus (one of the eldeste poetes of
Grece) affirmeth in his hymmes/ that the
Muses were gotten betwene Jupiter and me-
morie. whiche sayenge beinge well vnder-
stande and exactly tried/ it shall appere ma-
nifestly with the sayenge of the wyse man/
contayned in the sayd prayer late reberfed.

Eustathius (the expositour of Homere)
sayeth : that Musa is the knowlege of the
soule and is a thyng diuine as the soule is.
But fynally as by olde autours a man may
aggregate a definition : that whiche is cal-
led in greke and latyne Musa/ is that parte
of the soule that induceth and moueth a
man to serche for knowlege / in the whiche
motion is a secrete and inexplicable delecta-
tion. All be it bicause knowlege is in sondry
wise distribute/ & the nombie of nyne amōge

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olde autours was alwaye reherſed / where they ſpake of a multitude / as it ſhall appere to them that rede Homere & Virgile: Therfore there were diuiſed to be nyne Muſes / whiche alſo for the reſemblance of their diſpoſition were ſayned by the poetes to be nyne virgines / that fiſt inuented all lyberall ſciences: but the other oppinion approacheth more nere vnto the trouthe / and agreeth better vnto my purpoſe. More ouer Jupiter was alwaye taken of the poetes & Philoſophers for the ſupreme god / whiche was the gyuer of lyfe and creatour of all thinges / as it appereth in all their warkes. wherfore ſomtyme they calle him omnipotent / ſomtyme the father of goddes and of men: ſo that vnder that name they knowleged to be a very god / though they honored nat him as one only god / as they aught to haue done.

But nowe Orpheus ſayenge that the Muſes proceded of Jupiter and Memorie / may be in this wyſe interpreted. That god almyghtie infuded Sapience into the Memorie of man (for to the acquirynge of ſcience belongeth vnderſtandyng and memorie) whiche as a Treasory hath power to retayne / and alſo to erogate and diſtribute

bute / whan oportunitie hapneth. And for
the excellencie of this thyng: some noted
to be in mannes soule a diuine substaunce.
As Pythagoras or some of his scholars
writynge his sentence / sayeth in this wyse
spekyng to man.

Nowe in thy selfe haue thou good confidence
Sens mortall men be of the kynde diuine
In whose nature a reuerent excellence
Appereth clere / whiche all thinge dothe define.

whiche sentence of Pythagoras is nat re-
iecte cyther of Plato whyche approched
nexte vnto the catholike writars / or of di-
uines whiche interprete holly scripture: ta-
kyng the soule so: the ymage and simily-
tude of god.

More ouer Plato (in his boke called plato:
in Tim.
Timeus) affirmeth / that there is sette in
the soule of man commyng into the worlde
certayne spices / or as it were sedes of thyn-
ges and rules of Artes or sciences. wher-
fore Socrates (in the boke of Science) re- plato in
Theage.
sembleth bym selfe to a mydwyse / sayenge
that in teachinge yonge men he dyd put in
to theim no science / but rather brought
furthe that which all redy was in them like
as the mydwise brought nat in the childe /

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but beinge conceyued dyd helpe to bringe it
furthe. And like as in houndes is a powar
or disposition to hunte / In horses and gre-
houndes an aptitude to renne swiftly / so in
the soules of men is ingenerate a leme of
science / whiche with the mixture of a ter-
restriall substaunce is obfuscate or made
darke. But where there is a pseyte mayster
prepared in tyme / than the brightnes of the
science appereth polite and clere / like as the
powar and aptitude of the bestes before re-
berfed appereth nat to the vttermoste / ex-
cepte it be by exercise prouoked / and that
slouthe and dulnesse beyng plucked from
them by Industrie / they be induced vnto
the continuall acte : whiche as Plato affir-
meth is proued also in the mayster and the
disciple. Semblably the foresayde Socra-
tes in Platons booke of Sapience / sayeth to
one Theages. Neuer man lerned of me any
thinge / all thoughe by my company he be-
came the wiser. I onely exhortyng and the
good spirite inspiryng. whiche wonderfull
sentence as me semeth may well accorde
with our catholyke sayeth / and be receyued
in to the commentaries of the mooste per-
fecte diuines. For as well that sentence as
all other before reberfed do comprobate
with

with holy scripture that god is the fountayne of Sapience / lyke as he is the soueraygne begynnyng of all generation.

Also it was wonderfully well expressed of whom Sapience was engendred by a poete named Affranus / whose verses were sette ouer the porche of the Temple / where the Senate of Rome mooste commonly assembled. whiche verses were in this maner.

Osus me genuit / mater peperit memoria

Sophiam me Graui vocant / nos Sapientiam.

whiche in englysh he maye be in this wyse translated.

Memorie hygh my mother / my father experience
Grekes calle me Sophi / but ye name me Sapience.

By vse or experience in these versis expressed / the poete intended as well those actes whiche we our selfe dayly do practyse / as also them whiche beyng done by other in tyme passed / for the frute or vtilitie whiche therof succeeded were alowed and also proued to be necessary. And the cause why that the poete conioyneth experience & memorie to gether / as it were in a lesfull matrimony / experience bigettyng: And memorie alwaye producyng that incomparable frute called Sapience / is for that memorie in her operation proprely succedeth experyence.

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Aristoteles
de memoria et
remissione
lib. ii. c. ii.

for that which is presently done we perceyue:
that which is to come we coniecte or diuine:
but that whiche is passed/onely we haue in
our memorie. For as Aristotell declareth
wonderfully in an example. In the princi-
pall sense of manne there is conceyued an
ymage or figure of a thyng whiche by the
same sense is perceyued/as long as it is re-
tayned intiere or hole / and (as I mought
saye) consolidate: pure: manifeste or playne/
& without blemmish/in suche wise that in
euery parte of it/the mynde is stered or oc-
cupyed / and by the same mynde/it may be
thoroughly perceyued & knowen / nat as an
ymage in it selfe/but as representyng an o-
ther thinge. This is properly memorie: but
if the hole ymage or figure be nat retayned
in the mynde/but parte therof onely remay-
neth/parte is put out eyther by the lengthe
of tyme / or by some other misshappe or in-
iurie/so that it neither can bring the mynde
estsones vnto it/nor it can be called agayne
of the mynde. As often as by that portion
whiche styll remayneth / and hath aboden
alwaye intiere and clene/the residue that
was therto knytte and adioyned / and late
semed for the tyme ded or bireft from the
mynde/is reuiued and (as it were) retour-
ned

ned home agayne/it is thā had for redemed
or restored / and is properly called remem-
braunce. This is the exposition of the noble
Philosopher/whiche I haue writen/princi-
pally to thētent to orname our langage with
vsinge wordes in their propre signification.
wherof/what comoditie may ensue all wise
men wyll I doubt nat consider.

what is the true signification of vn-
derstandyng. Cap. xxiij.



Or as moche as in the begyn-
nyng of the fyrste boke of this
warke/I endeouored my selfe
to proue that by the ordre of
mannes creation / preeminence
in degree shulde be amonge men according
as they do excell in the pure influence of vn-
derstandyng/whiche can nat be denyed to
be the principall parte of the soule / some
reder perchauce meued with disdayne / will
for that one assertion immediately reiecte
this warke/saieng that I am of a corrupt or
solis be oppinion:supposing that I do inten-
de by the said wordes / that no man shulde
gouerne or be in authortie / but onely be
g. v. whiche

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whiche surmounteth all other in doctrine:
whiche in his hasty malice be demeth/that
I onely do meane where I speke of vnder-
standynge.

I suppose all men do knowe / that man is
made of body and soule/and that the soule
in preeminence excelleth the body as moche
as the maister or owner excelleth the house/
or the artificer excelleth his instrumentes /
or the king his subiectes. And therfore Sa-
luste in the conspiracie of Cathaline sayeth.
we vse specially the rule of the soule and
service of the body: the one we participate
with goddes / the other with bestes. And
Tulli saieth in Tusculane questions. Manes
soule beinge decerpt or taken of the portion
of diuinitie called Mens/may be compared
with none other thinge (if a man mought
lesfully speke it) but with god hym selfe.
Also the noble diuine Chrysostomus sayeth /
that the body was made for the soule / and
nat the soule for the body. Nowe it is to be
further knowen that the soule is of thre
partes: the one wherein is the powar or ef-
ficacie of growinge/ which is also in herbes
and trees as well as in man / and that parte
is called vegetatife. An other parte wherein
man doth participate with all other thynges
lynnynges

Cl. Tusc.
q. li. i.

chrysostomus
de repara-
tione
lapse

lyuinge/whiche is called sensitife/ by reason
that therof the sensis do procede/whiche be
distributed in to dyuers instrumentall partes
of the body: as sight in to the eyen: herynge
to the eares: smellyng to the nose: tastynge
to the mouthe/ felynge to euery parte of the
body wherein is bloode / without the whi-
che yndoughtedly maye be no felynge.

The thirde parte of the soule is named the
parte intellectuall or of vnderstandynge /
whiche is of all the other mooste noble / as
whereby man is mooste lyke vnto god / and
is preferred before all other creatures.

For where other beastes by theyr senses
do feele what thyng do profyte theim.

And what dothe annoy them: only man vn-
derstandeth wherof the sayd contrary dis-
positions do comme / and by what meanes
they do either helpe or annoy: also he per-
ceyueth the causes of the same thyng / and
knoweth howe to resyste / where and whan
nede dothe requyre: and with reason and
crafte howe to gyue remedy: and also with
labour and industry / to prouyde that thing
whiche is holosome or profitable / this mooste
pure parte of the soule and (as Aristotle
sayeth) diuine / impassible / and incorrup-
tible: is named in latine *Intellectus*, where

vnto

Arist. li. 6
de anima.

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vnto I can fynde no propre englysshe but vnderstandynge. For intelligence whiche commeth of *Intelligentia* is the perceyuyng of that whiche is fyrst conceyued by vnderstandynge called *Intellectus*. Also intelligence is nowe vsed for an elegant worde / where there is mutuall treaties or appoyntementes / cyther by letters or message specially concernynge warres / or like other great affaires betwene princes or noble men. wherefore I wyll vse this worde vnderstandynge for *Intellectus* / vntyll some other more propre englysshe worde maye be founden and brought in custome. But to perceyue more playnly what thinge it is that I call vnderstandynge. It is the principall parte of the soule whiche is occupied about the begynnyng or originall causes of thynges that may falle in to manes knowelge: & his office is / before that any thyng is attempted to thinke / consyde / and prepenche & after often tossyng it vp & downe in the mynde / than to exercise that powar / the ppertie wherof is to espie / seke for / enserche / & finde out: which vertue is referred to wit which is as it were the instrumēt of vnderstanding. More ouer after the thinges be inuented: coniected: perceyued: & by longe tyme & often considered: & that

that the mynde disposeth her selfe to execution or actuall operation: than the vertue named Prudence fyrst putteth her selfe forwardes/and than appereth her industrie and labour: for as moche as she teacheth: warneth/ exhorteth/ ordereth/ & profiteth/ like to a wise capitaine that setteth his hoste in araye. And therfore it is to be remembred that the office or duetie of vnderstandynge precedeth the interprise of actes: & is in the beginning of thinges. I call that beginning wherin before any mater taken in bande the mynde & thought is occupied/ & that a man sercbeth & doughteth/ whether it be to be entreprised/and by what waye/and in what tyme it is to be executed. who by this litle introduction knowynge what vnderstandynge do signifie/ will nat suppose/ that he which therin dothe excelle is nat with honour to be aduaüced? Than it foloweth nat by this argument that for as moche as he that excelleth other in vnderstading shulde be preferred in honour: that therfore no mā shulde be preferred to honoure/ but onely they that excell other in lerninge. No man hauinge naturall reason thoughe he neuer radde logyke/ wyll iudge this to be a good argument/ considering that vnderstandynge
called

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called in latine *Intellectus* and *Sens* / is by it selfe sufficient and is nat of any necessite annexed to doctrine / but doctrine procedeth of vnderstandynge . But if doctrine be alwaye attendynge vpon vnderstandynge as the daughter vpon the mother vndoughtedly / than vnderstandynge must be the more perfecte and of a more efficacie beinge increased by the inuentions and experiences of many other declared by doctrine : no one manne without inspiration hauynge knowlege of all thynges . I calle doctrine discipline intellectise / or lerning whiche is either in writing or by reporte of thynges before knowen / whiche pcedeth from one man to an other / that whiche I haue sayde is in this wyse confirmed by Salomon sayenge . A manne that is wise / by beryng shall become wiser . And he that hath vnderstandynge shall be a gouernoure . Seneca sayeth / we instructe our children in lliberall sciences / nat bycause those sciences may gyue any vertue : but because they prepare the mynde and make it apte to receyue vertue . which beinge considered / no man wyll denye but that they be necessary to euery man that coueteth very nobilite . whiche as I haue often tymes said is in the hauynge and vse of vertue . And verely

Brist. Lt.
li. v. postes
rioum.
i. portis
ce. li. i.

Prover. i.

verely in whome doctrine hath ben so founden ioyned with vertue : there vertue hath semed excellent / and as I mought saye triumphant .

Scipio comen of the moost noble house of the Romanes / in hygh lernynge and knowledge of the nature of thynges wonderfull studious / hauynge alwaye with hym the mooste excellent philosophers and poetes that were in his tyme / was an example and mirrour of martiall prowesse : continence : deuotion : liberalitie : and of all other vertues . Lato called yticensis / named the chiefe pilar of the publike weale of the Romanes / was so moche inflamed in the desire of lernynge / that (as Suetonius writeth) he coulde nat tempre him selfe in redyng greke bookes whyles the Senate was sittynge . Howe moche it profited to the noble Augustus / that vntill the dethe of his vncle Julius Cesar / be diligently applyed his study in Athenes : it well appered after that the Liule warres were all finissed . whan he refourmyng the hole astate of the publike weale / stablissed the Senate / and takynge vnto hym ten honorable personages dayly in his owne persone consulted with them of maters / to be reported twyse in a monetbe
to the

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to the Senate in suche wyse aydyng and
helpyng forthe that mooste noble courte
with his incomparable study and diligence.

The emperour Titus sonne of Vespasian
for his lernyng and vertue was named the
delicate of the worlde.

Marcus Antoninus the emperour was in
euery kynde of lernyng so excellent, that
he was therfore openly named the philo
sopher, nat in reproche (as men do nowe a
dayes in despyte calle them philosophers
and poetes, whom they perceyue studious
in sondry good disciplines) but to the aug
mentation of his honour. For beyng of his
owne nature aptly inclined to embrace ver
tue: he addyng to abundaunce of lernyng
became therby a wonderfull and perfecte
prince: beyng neyther by study withdra
wen from affaires of the publike weale:
nor by any busynes, vtterly pluckyd frome
Philosophy, and other noble doctrynes,
by the whiche mutuall coniunction and iust
temperaunce of those two studyes, he at
tayned to suche a fourme in all his gouer
naunce, that he was named and taken for
father of the Senate: of the people: and
yniuersally of all the hole empyre.

Moreouer his dedes and wordes were of
all

all men had in so hyghe estimation and reuerence/that bothe the Senate and people toke of him lawes & rules of their lyuynge. And in his gouernaunce and propre lyuing as well at home in his house/as in his ciuile busines/be was to him selfe the onely lawe and example. And as he was aboue other highest in autoritie/so by the vniuersall opinion of all men he was iuged to be of all other men than lyuinge the best and also the wysist.

Of Experience whiche haue preceded
our tyme / with a defence of
Histories. Cap. xxiij.



Experience / whereof commeth
wysedome / is in two maner of
wise. The one is actes comitted
or done by other men / wherof
profite or damage succedynge/
we may (in knowynge or beholdinge it) be
therby instructed to apprehende the thing/
which to the publike weale/ or to our owne
persones/may be commodious: and to ex-
ceute that thing/which either in the begyn-
nyng/or in the conclusion appereth noisome
and vicious. The knowlege of this Experi-
ence

Titus Li-
uius in
praemi:
no. li. i.

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ence is called Example / and is expressed by historie / whiche of Tulli is called the life of memorie : And so it agreeth well with the versis of Afranius / by me late declared. And therfore to suche persones as do contemne auncient histories / reputing them amonge leasings and fantises (these be their wordes of reproche) it may be sayd / that in contemnyng historie / they frustrate Experience: whiche (as the sayd Tulli sayeth) is the light of vertue / whiche they wolde be sene so moche to fauour / all though they do seldome embrace it. And that shall they perceyue manifestly / if they will a litle while laye a parte their accustomed obstinacie / & suffre to be distilled in to their eares two or thre dropes of the sweete oyle of remembrance. Lete them reuolue in their myndes generally / that there is no doctrine / be it eyther diuine or humaine / that is nat eyther all expressed in historie / or at the leste mixte with historie. But to thentent that there shall be left none ignorance / wherby they mought be detayned in their errour / I will declare vnto them what is that / that is called an historie / and what it comprehendeth. Firste it is to be noted / that it is a greke name / & commeth of a worde or verbe
in

In greke *hystoreo* / whiche dothe signifie to knowe / to se / to enserche / to enquire / to here / to lerne / to tell / or expoude vnto other. And than muste historie / whiche cometh therof / be wonderfull profitable / whiche leaueth nothinge hydde from mannes knowlege / that vnto hym may be eyther pleasaunt or necessarie. For it nat onely reporteth the gestes or actes of princees or Capitaynes: their counsayles and attemptates: entreprises / affaires / maners in lyuinge good and bad: descriptions of regions and cities with their inhabitauntes. But also it bringeth to our knowlege / the fourmes of sondry publike weales / with their augmētations and decayes / and occasion therof. More ouer preceptes / exhortations / counsayles / & good persuasions comprehended in quicke sentences and eloquent orations. Finally so large is the compase of that whiche is named historie / that it comprehendeth all thyng that is necessary to be put in memorie. In so moche as Aristotell where he declareth the partes of mannes body with their description & offices: and also the sondry fourmes and dispositions of all bestes / foules / and fishes / with their generation. He nameth his booke an historie. Semblably Theo.

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phraist his scholer a noble philosopher / describing all herbes and trees / wherof he mought haue the true knowlege / intitlith his boke the historie of plantes. And finally Plini the elder / calleth his mooste excellent & wonderfull worke / the historie of nature : in the whiche boke he nothing omitteth / that in the bosome of Nature is cōtayned / and may be by mannes witte cōprehended / and is wortby to be had in remembraunce. whiche autorities of these thre noble & excellent lerned men: approueth the signification of Historie / to agree well with the exposition of the verbe *ἱστορεω* wherof it cometh.

Nowe let vs se what booke of holy scripture / I meane the olde testament and the newe / may be saide to haue no parte of historie. The fivē bookes of Moyses / the boke of Judges / the foure bookes of kynges / Job / Hester / Judith / Ruth / Tobias / And also the historie of Machabees (whiche from the other is seperate) I suppose no man wil denie / but that they be all historicall : or (as I mought say) intier histories. Also Esdras / Nemias / Ezechiel / and Daniel / all though they were prophetes : yet be their workes compacte in forme of narrations / whiche by oratours be called enunciatue / and only
per

pertaineth to histories: wherein is expressed
a thyng done/and persones named. All the
other prophetes / though they speake of
the tyme future or to come / whiche is out
of the description of an historie / yet either
in rebukinge the sinnes & enormities passed/
or bewayling the destruction of their coun-
tray/or captiuitie of the people/& suche like
calamitie or miserable astate/also in meuing
or psuading the people/they do recite some
circumstaunce of a narration. But now we
come to the newe testament / & prin-
cipally the booke of the Euāgelistes/vulga-
rly called the gospels/ which be one con-
texte of an historie: do nat they contayne the
temporall lyfe of our sauour Christ/kinge
of kynges/& lorde of the worlde/vntill his glo-
rious assention? And what thinge lacketh
therin/that doth pertayne to a pfecte histo-
rie? There lacketh nat in thinges ordre & dis-
position/in the context or narration/veritie/
in the sentences grauitie/vtilitie in the coun-
sailes/in the persuasions doctrine/in exposi-
tions or declarations facilitie. The booke of
actes of apostles/what thinge is it els but a
playne historie? The epistles of saynt Paule/
saynt Peter/saynt Iohn/saynt James / and
Judas the apostles do contayne counsailes &
aduer.

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aduertisementes in the fourme of orations /
resitig diuers places as well out of the olde
testamēt / as out of the gospelles / as it were
an abbreuiate called of the grekes & latines
Epitoma. This is well konwen to be true / of
them that haue hadde any leasure to rede
holy scripture; who remēbringe them selves
by this my litle induction wyll leaue to ne-
glecte historie / or contemne it with so gene-
rall a dispraise as they haue bene accusto-
med? But yet some will impugne them with
a more particuler obiection / sayenge that
the histories of the Grekes and Romanes /
be nothyng but lyes & faynyng of poetes:
(some suche persones there be / betwene
whome and good autours haue euer ben
perpetuell hostilitie.) Firste howe do they
knowe / that al the histories of grekes & Ro-
manes be leasyng / sens they finde nat / that
any scripture autentike / made about that
tyme that those histories were writen / do re-
proue or cōdēne thē? But the most catholike
& renoumed doctours of Christes religion /
in the corroboracion of their argumētēs and
sentences / do alledge the same histories / and
vouche (as I mought say) to their ayde the
autoritie of the writars. And yet some of
those Rabines (in goddes name) whiche in

com

comparison of the sayde noble doctours/
be as who sayeth petites / & yneth the lettred;
wyll presume with their owne selye wittes
to disproue that/whiche both by auncientie
of tyme/and consent of blessed & noble doc-
tours is allowed/and by theyr warkes ho-
noured. If they will coniecte histories to be
lyes / bicause they somtyme make reporte
of thynges sene / and actes done/whiche do
seme to the reders incredible.

By that same raison may they nat only cō-
demne all holy scripture/whiche cōtayneth
thynges more wonderfull/thā any historien
writeth / but also exclude credulitie vtterly
from the cōpany of man. For howe many
thinges be daily sene/whiche beinge repor-
ted ynto him that neuer sawe them/shulde
seeme impossible? And if they wyll allege/
that all thyng contayned in holy scripture
is approbate by the hole consent of all the
clergie of Christendome/at diuers generall
counsailes assembled: Certes the same cou-
sailes neuer disproued or reiected the histo-
ries of grekes or Romanes; but the moste
catholike and excellent lerned men of those
congregations embraced theyr examples /
and sowyng them in their warkes/made of
them to the church of Chryste/a necessarie

The Countenance

ornament. Admytte that some histories be interlaced with leasynge: why shulde we therfore neglecte them? sens / the affaires there reported / no thyng concerneth vs / we beyng therof no parteners / ne therby onely / may receyue any damage. But if by redynge the sage counsaile of Nestor / the subtile persuations of Vlisses / the compendious grauitie of Menelaus / the imperiall maiestye of Agamemnon / the prowesse of Achilles / & valiaunt courage of Hector: we may apprehende any thinge / wherby our wittes may be amended / & our personages be more apte to serue our publike weale and our prince. what forceth it vs / though Homer write leasynge? I suppose no mā thinketh / that Esope wrote gospelles: yet who doubteth / but that in his fables the foxe / the hare / and the wolfe / though they neuer spake / do teache many good wysedomes & whiche beinge well consydered / men (if they haue nat auowed to repugne agayne reason) shall confesse with Quintilian that fewe / and ynethe one may be founde of auncient writars / whiche shall nat bringe to the redars some thinge comodious: And specially they that do write maters historicall / the lesson wherof is as it were the mirrour of
of

of mannes life/expressinge actually / and(as
it were at the eye)the beaultie of vertue / &
the deformitie and lothelynes of vice. wher
fore Lactantius sayeth : Thou muste nedes Lactāti
us li. iiii.
peryshe / if thou knowe nat what is to thy
life profitable/that thou maiste seke for it: &
what is daungerous/that thou mayste flee
and exchue it. whiche I dare affirme may
come soonest to passe by redyng of histo-
ries / and retayninge them in continuell re-
membraunce.

The Experience or practise necessary in the
persone of a gouernour of a publike
weale. Cap. xxv.



The other experience whiche is
in our propre persones / and is
of some men called practise / of
is no small moment or efficacie
in the acquiringe of sapience/in
so moche that it semeth that no operatiō or
affaire may be perfecte/nor no science or arte
may be complete/except experience be there
vnto added/whereby knowlege is ratified /
and (as I mought saye) consolidate. It is
written that the great kynge Alexāder on a
tyme beinge (as it hapned) yn occupied /
b.v. came

The Governour.

came to the shoppe of Apelles the excellent
paynter : And standyng by hym whyles he
paynted / the kynge reasoned with hym of
lines / adumbrations / proportions / or other
like thinges pertainyng to imagery / whiche
the paynter a litle whyles sufferynge / at the
last said to the kynge with the countenance
all smylyng : Seest thou noble prince / howe
the boye that gryndeth my colours dothe
laughe the to scoone ? whiche wordes the
the kynge toke in good parre & helde hym
therwith iustly corrected : considerig by his
owne office in martiall affaires that he than
had in hande / how great a portion of know-
lege faileth / where lacketh experience. And
therin gouernours shall nat disdayne to be
resembled vnto phisitions / cōsideryng their
offices in curynge and preseruynge be mooste
lyke of any other. That parte of phisike
called rationall / wherby is declared the fa-
culties or powers of the body / the causis /
accidentes / and tokens of sikenessis / can nat
alwayes be sure without some experience in
the temperature or distemperature of the
regions / in the disposition of the patient in
diete / concoction / quietnesse / exercise & slepe .
And Galene prince of phisitions exhortetb
them to knowe exactly the accustomed diete
of

of their patientes / whiche can nat happen without moche resorte in to their companies : seriously notyng their ysage in diete. Semblably the vniuersall state of a contray or citie may be well lykened to the body of man . wherfore the gouernours in the stede of phisitions attending on their cure/ought to knowe the causes of the decaye of their publike weale whiche is the belthe of their countraye or cytie / and thanne with expedition to procede to the mooste spedy and sure remedy . But certes the very cause of decay:ne the true meane to cure it / may neuer be sufficiently knowen of gouernours / except they them selves wyll personally resorte & peruse all partes of the countrayes vnder their gouernaunce/and inserche diligently as well what be the customes and maners of people good and badde / as also the comodities and discommodities. howe the one may be preserued / the other suppressed/or at the leste wayes amended. Also amonge them that haue ministration or execution of iustice (whiche I may liken vnto the membres) to taste and fele howe euery of them do practise their offices / that is to say / whether they do it febly or vnprofitably / and whether it happen by negligence
disco

The Governour

discourage/corruption or affectio. But now we
may the reader with good reason demaunde of
me by what maner experience the goynours
may come to the true knowlege herof. That
shall I now declare. First the gouernours
them selves adourned with vertue/being in
suche wise an example of living to their infe-
riours/ & making the people iudges of them &
their domesticall seruantes & adherentes /
shulde sondry tymes duringe their gouer-
naunce either purposely or by way of solace
repaire in to diuers ptes of their iurisdictio
or pvince & making their abode/they shall
prty the selves attētifly here/what is comonly
or priuately spokē cōcerning the astate of the
contray or psones / partely they shall cause
their seruantes or frēdes of whose honestie &
trouth they haue good assuraunce/to resorte
in disporting them selves in diuers townes &
villages. And as they happē to be in cōpany
with the inhabitauntes / priuily and with
some maner of circumstance/enquire what
men of hauour dwell nighe vnto the. what
is the forme of their living/of what estima-
cion they be in iustice/liberalitie:diligence in
executing the lawes/& other semblable ver-
tues. Contrary wise whether they be oppres-
sours/couctous men/maintenours of offen-
dours/

doure/remisse or negligēt if they be officers.
And what the examiners do here the gret-
ter nōbre of people reporte: that they interly
⁊ truely denōūce it to the sayde gouernour:
by the which intimatiō ⁊ their owne pruden-
t endeuour / they shall haue infallible know-
lege who among the inhabitaūtes be mē to
warde the publike weale best disposed. Thē
shall they calfe for ⁊ mooste courtaisely en-
tretaine / and (as it were) louingly embrace /
with thākes for their good will ⁊ endeuour
towards the publike weale : cōmending thē
opely for their vertue ⁊ diligēce. Offring to
thē their assistēce in their seblable doinges /
⁊ also their furtheraūce towards the due re-
cōpence of their trauailes. On the contrary
pte / whan they see any of thē / who amonge
their inferiours / obserue nat iustice / ⁊ likewise
officers whiche be remisse or fauourable to
cōmune offendours ⁊ brekers of lawes / ⁊ ne-
gligent in the execution of their auctorities /
to them shall they gyue condigne reprehē-
siōs manifestyng their defautes in omitting
their dueties / ⁊ in giuing euil exāple to their
cōpaniōs: also boldnes to trāgresse to cōtēne
the lawes / declarige also that the ministring
such occasion deserue nat onely a sharpe re-
buke / but also right greuous punisshement.

And

The Governour.

And if he that thus admonesteth be a so-
ueraigne governour or prince: if I saye/ he
shortely here vpon doth ratifie his wordes
by expellyng some of them/whiche I nowe
reherfed / from their offices / or other wyse
sharply correctyng them. And contrarye
wise aduance higher some good man/and
whom he hath proued to be diligent in the
execution of iustice. Vndoubtedly he shall
inflame the appetite and zeale of good mini-
sters/and also suscitare or raise the courage
of all men inclined to vertue: so that there
shal neuer lacke men apte and propise to be
set in auctoritie: where the merites of men
beige bidde & vnknownen to the soueraigne
governour / and the negligent ministers or
inferior governours/hauing nat only equal
thanke or rewarde / but perchance moche
more than they which be diligent/or wolde
be if they mought haue assistance: there
vndoubtedly is grieuouse discouragement / and
perill of conscience: for as moche as they
omitte oftē tymes their dueties and offices/
reputyng it great folly & madnes to acquire
by the executyng of iustice/ nat only an opi-
nion of tyrannye amōge the people/and co-
sequently haterede: but also malignitie a-
monge his equalles and superiours with a
note

note of ambition. This reuolued & considered by a circumspecte gouernour/lorde god howe shortly and with litle difficultie shall be dispose the publike weale that is greued to receyue medicine / wherby it shulde be soone healed and reduced to his perfection.

Of Detraction & the ymage therof made by the paynter Apelles. La. xxv.



Here is moche conuersant amonge men in authoritie a vice very vgly and monstrouse / who vnder the pleasaunt habite of frendshippe and good counsaile with a breeth pestilenciall infecteth the wittes of them that nothinge mistrusteth: this monstre is called in englysshe Detraction/in latine Calumnia, whose propertie I will now declare. If a man beinge determined to equitie hauynge the eyen and eares of his mynde/set onely on the trouthe and the publike weale of his contray will haue no regarde to any requeste or desire/but procedeth directely in the admystration of iustyce: than either he whiche by iustice is offended/ or some his fautours/abettours/ or adherentes if he him selfe or any of them be

The Countenour.

be in seruice or familiaritie with hym that is in auctoritie/ as soone as by any occasion mention hapneth to be made of hym who hath executed Justyce exactly / further with they imagine some vice or defeaute / be it neuer so litle / wherby they may minyshe his credence / and craftly omitting to speke any thyng of his rygour in Justyce / they wyll note and touche some thyng of his maners / wherein shall eyther seme to be lyghtnes or lacke of grauitie : or to moche sowernes or lacke of Ciuilitie : or that he is nat beneuolent to hym in auctoritie / or that he is nat sufficient to receyue any dignitie / or to despecche matters of wyeghtye importaunce : or that he is superfluous in wordes : or elles to scarce. Also if he lyue temperately and delieth moche in studye / they embraide hym with nygardeshyp / or in derision do calle him a clerke or a poete vnmete for any other purpose / and this do they couertely and with a more grauitie than any other thyng that they enterpise. This euyl reporte is called detraction who was wonderfully well expressed in fygures / by the moost noble peynter Apelles / after that he was discharged of the cryme whereof he was falsly accused to Probolomee

The
image of
detrac
tion.

Iomee kyng of Egypt / hauyng for his amēdes of the said kyng. xij. M. poundes sterlyng / and his accuser to his bondman perpetuelly. The table wherin detraction was expresse / was paynted in this fourme.

At the ryghte bande was made sittynge a man hauyng longe eares / puttyng fourthe his bande to detraction / who ferre of came towardes him : aboute this man stode two women / that is to say / Ignorance & suspicio. On the other side came Detraction / a woman aboue measure wel trimmed / all chauffed and angry / hauyng her aspecte or loke like to the fire in shewig a maner of rage or furye. In her lefte bande she helde a brenninge torche or bronde / and with her other bande she drewe by the beare of his hedde a yonge man who helde vp his handes towarde heuen / callinge god & the sayntes for witnesse : with her came a man pale & euill fauoured beboldinge the yonge man intensly like vnto one that had ben with longe sicknes cōsumed / whom ye mought lightly cōiecte to be enuie : Also there folowed two other women that trymmed & apparailled Detraction : the one was Treason / the other Fraude. After folowed a womā in a mourninge weede blacke & ragged / and she was
i called

The Governour.

called Repentaunce who turninge her backe
wepyng & sore asbamed bebelde veritie /
who than approached. In this wise Apelles
described detraction by whome he him selfe
was in peryll: whiche in myn oppinion is a
right necessary mater to be in tables or han
gynge set in euery mans house that is in
auctoritie: cōsideringe what damage & losse
hath ensued & may hereafter ensue by this
horrible pestilence false detraction / to the a
uoydinge wherof Luciane who writeth of
this picture gyueth a notable cōsayle say
enge / that a wise mā whā he douteth of the
honestie & vertue of the persone accused / he
shulde kepe close his eares & nat open them
hastely to thē whiche be with this sycknes
infected / & put reason for a diligent porter &
watche / whiche ought to examine and lette
in the reportes that be good / and exclude &
prohibite them that be contrary: for it is a
thinge to laughe at and very vnfittinge to
ordeyne for thy house a keeper or porter: &
thine eares and mynde to leaue to all men
wyde open. wherfore whan any persone cō
meth to vs to tell vs any report or cōplaint:
First it shall be boue vs througely & evenly
to considre the thyng: nat hauyng respecte
to the eares of him that reporteth / or to his
fourme

fourme of lyuing or wisedome in speaking. For the more vehement the reporter is in perswading / so moche more diligent and exacte triall & examination aught to be vsed. Therefore truste is nat to be gyuen to an other mannes iudgement: moche lasse to the malice of an accuser. But euery man shall retayne to hym selfe the power to enserche out the trouthe / and leauynge the enuye or displeasure to the detractour / he shall ponder or way the mater indifferently: that euery thyng in suche wise beinge curiously inserched and proued he maye at his pleasure either loue or hate him / whom he hath so substancially tried. For in good sayth to gyue place to detraction at the begynnyng it is a thinge childishe and base / and to be esteemed amonge the moost great inconueniencies & mischiefes. These be well nyghe the wordes of Luciane: whether the counsaile be good / I remitte it to the wise redars. Of one thing am I sure that by detraction as well many good wittes haue bene drowned: as also vertue and paynfull study haue vnrewarded / and many zelatours or fauourers of the pnblyke weale haue benne discouraged.

The Governour.
Of Consultation and counsayle / and
in what fourme they aught to be
vsed in a publike weale.
Cap. xxvij.

The griefes or diseases whiche of
Aristotell be called the decayes
of the publike weale beinge in-
uestigate examined and tried by
the experience before expressed / than com-
methe the tyme and oportunitie of consul-
tation: wherby as I sayd is provided there
medies moste necessary for the healinge of
the sayd grefes / or reparation of decayes.
This thinge that is called Consultation is
the generall denomination of the acte wher
in men do deuise to gether & reason what is
to be done. Counsayle is the sentence or ad-
uise particularly gyuen by euery man for
that purpose assembled. Consultation hath
respecte to the tyme future or to come: that
is to saye / the ende or purpose thereof is
adressed to some acte or affaire to be practi-
sed after the Consultation. And yet be nat
all other tymes excluded: but fyrste the
state of thinges present aught to be exami-
ned: the powar: assistance: and substaunce
to be esteemed: seblably thinges passed with
moche

moche & longe deliberation to be reuolued
& tossed in the minde / & to be conferred with
thē that be present / & beinge exactly wayed
the one agayne the other / thā to inuestigate
or enquire exquisitely the fourme & reason
of the affaire and in that studye to be holly
resolved so effectually / that they whiche be
counsaillours may beare with them out of
the counsaile house / as it were on their shoul-
ders / nat onely what is to be folowed and
exploited : but also by what meanes or
wayes it shall be pursued / and howe the
affaire may be honourable / also what is ex-
pedient / and of necessitie / & howe moche is
nedeful / and what space and length of time /
and finally howe the enterprise beinge achie-
ued & brought to effect may be kept & retai-
ned : for ofte times aff exploitures hapneth
occasions / either by assaultes or other encō-
brances of enemies : or of to moche trust
in fortunes assuraunce / or by disobedienee
or presumption of some persones whome
the thinge toucheth / that this last parte of
Consultation is omitted or more rather ne-
glected : wher moche studie / trauaile / & cost
haue vtterly perished / nat onely to the no-
litle detrimēt of infinite psones / but also to
the subuertiō of most noble publike weales.

The Governour.

More over it is to be diligently noted that every counsaile is to be approued by thre thinges principally: that it be ryghtwyse: that it be good: & that it be with honestie. That whiche is rightwise is brought in by reason. For nothing is right that is nat ordered by raison. Goodnes cometh of vertue of vertue and reason procedeth honestie: wherfore counsaile being compact of these thre may be named a perfecte Capitayne: A trusty companyon: a playne & vnfayned frende. Therfore in the comédation therof Titus Linius saith: many thynges be impeched by Nature whiche by counsaile be shortly achieued. And verily the powar of Counsaile is wonderfull: hauing auctoritie aswel ouer peace as martiall enterpryse. And therfore with good reason Tulli affirmeth in his booke of offices. Armes without the doores be of litle importaunce if counsaile be nat at home. And he sayth sone after. In thinges mooste prosperous the counsaile of frendes must be vsed whiche is ratified by the auctour of the noble warke named Ecclesiasticus sayeng. Wy sone without counsaile see thou do not bynge / and than after thy dede thou shalte neuer repente the. The same autor giueth thre noble preceptes
-oncer-

Titus Li
nius. li. xv

Ecclesiast
li. li. xxxii

concerning this matter/which of euery wise man aught to be had in cōtinuall memorie.

Of fooles take thou no counsaile/ for they can loue nothinge / but that pleaseth them selves. Discouer nat thy counsayle before a straunger: for thou knowest nat what therof may happen. Vnto enery man disclose nat thy harte/leest parauenture he wyl gyue to the a sayned thanke/ & after reporte rebukefully of the. Fooles be as I suppose they whiche be more ladde with affection than reason. And whom he calleth straungers be those/ of whose fidelitie and wisdom he is nat assured: & in the generall name of euery man may be signified the lacke of election of counsaillours: whiche wold be with a vigilant serche and (as I mought saye) of all other moost scrupulouse.

Ecclesiastice.
viii.

what in Consultation is to be chiefly cōsidered. La. xxviiij.



The ende of al doctrine and studie is good counsayle: whervnto as vnto the principall poynt which Geometricians do call the Centre/all doctrines (whiche by some autours be imagined in the fourme of a cerkle) do
i.iiij. sende

The Governour.

sende their effectes like vnto equall lignes/
as it shall appere to the that will rede the
bokes of the noble Plato / where he shall
fynde / that the wise Socrates in every in-
uestigacion whiche is in forme of a consul-
tation / vseth his persuasions & demonstra-
tions by the certayne rules & examples of
fondry sciences / prouinge therby that the cō-
clusion / and as (I mought say) the pfection
of them is in good counsaile / wherin vertue
may be founden / beyng (as it were) his
propre mantion or palice / where her powar
onely appereth concernynge gouernaunce /
either of one persone only : & thā it is called
morall / or of a multitude which for a diuer-
sitie may be called polityke : sens counsayle
is of suche an efficacie and in thinges concer-
nyng man hath suche a preeminence / It is
therfore expediēt that consultation (wherin
cōsaile is expressed) be very seriouse / substā-
ciall / & profitable. which to bringe to effecte
requireth two thyngs principally to be cōsi-
dered. First that in every thinge concerning
a publike weale / no good cōsailour be om-
mitted our passed ouer but that his reason
therin be hard to an ende (I call him a good
counsailour whiche (as Cesar sayth) in the
coniuration of Catiline) whiles he consule-
teth

teb in doubtfull matters / is voyde of all
bate/frendship/displeasure/or pitie. Howe
necessarye to a publike weale it shall be/ to
haue in any wise mens oppiniōs declared/it
is manifest to them that do remembre/that
in many heddes be diuers maners of wittis/
some inclined to sharpenes & rigour/ many
to pitie & cōpassion: diuers to a temperaūce
& meane betwene bothe extremities: some
haue respecte to tranquillitie onely: other/
more to welth & cōmoditie: diuers to moche
renoume & estimation in honour: there be
that wyll speke all theyr mynde sodaynly:
and perchaunce right well. Diuers require
to haue respect and studie/wherin is moche
more suertie / many wyll speake waresly for
feare of displeasure:some more bolder in ver
tue wyll nat spare to shewe theyr myndes
playnely: diuers will assent to that reasons/
wherewith they suppose that be whiche is
chiefe in authoritie wyll be beste pleased.
These vndoughtedly be the diuersities of
of wittes: and moreouer where there is a
great numbze of counsaylours/ they all be
inge herde/ nedes must the counsaile be the
more perfecte:for somtyme perchaunce one
of them whiche in doctrine/ witte / or expe
rience is in leste estimation / may happe to

The Governour.

expresse some sentence more available to the purpose wherin they consult than any that before came to the others remembraunces: no one man being of suche pfection that he can haue in an instant remembraunce of all thing. whiche I suppose was considered by Romulus the first king of Romaines in the firste constitution of their publike weale/for hauinge of his owne people but thre thousande foote men / and thre hundrede horsemen he chose of the eldest & wisest of the all one hundrede counsailours: but to the more assertion of diuers mennes sentences/ I will declare a notable experience whiche I late hapned to rede.

Belinger Baldasine a man of great witte/ singuler lernynge / and excellent wisdom. (who was one of the counsailours to Ferdinando kyng of Aragon) whan any thing doubtfull / or weyghtie mater was consulted of / where he was present / afterwarde whan he had souped at home in his house/ he wolde call before hym all his seruantes: and merily purposing to them some fained question or fable: wherein was craftly byde the matter whiche remayned doubtfull / wolde merely demaunde of euery man his particuler oppinion/ & gyuing good eare to
their

Dionis.
Valycar.
Nassus.

they: iudgements / he wolde conferre to
gether euery mans sentence / and with good
deliberation ponderynge their value / he at
the last perceyued whiche was the truest &
moste apte to his purpose: & beinge in this
wyse furnysshed / translatynge iapes and
thynges fayned to mater serious and true /
he amonge the kynges counsailours in gy-
uynge good and substanciall aduise bad al-
way preeminence. Howe moche comoditie
tha suppose ye mought be taken of the sen-
tences of many wyse and experte counsay-
lours. And like as Calchas / as Homere wri-
teth knewe by diuination thynges present:
thinges to come: & them that were passed: so
counsailours garnished with lernyng and
also experience shall thereby conside the
places: tymes: and personages: examining
the state of the mater than practised / & ex-
pending the powar / assistance / and substace:
also reuoluinge longe & often tymes in their
myndes / thynges that be passed & cōferringe
them to the matters that be than in experi-
ence / studiously do seeke out the reason and
maner howe that whiche is by them appro-
ued may be brought to effecte. And suche
mennes raisons wolde be thoroughly berde
and at length / for the wiser that a man is / in
tarienge

homer.
Iliad. vii.

The Governour.

taryeng/his wysedome increaseth / his reason is more lyuelye / and quicke sentence aboundeth. And to the more parte of men whan they be chaused in raisonyng / argumentes / solutions / examples / similitudes / and experimentes do resorte / & (as it were) flowe vnto their remembraunces.

The seconde consideration to be had
in consultation. Cap.xxix.



The secōde cōsideration is that the generall and vniuersall estate of the publike weale wold be preferred in cōsultation before any particuler comoditie : & the pfitte or damage / whiche may happen within our owne coutrayes / wolde be more considered / than that whiche may happen from other regions : which to beleue / commune raison and experience leadeth vs. For who cōmendeth those gardiners that wyll put all their diligence in trymmyng or kepyng delicately one knotte or bedde of herbes / suffryng all the remenaunt of their gardeyne to be subuerted with a great nombre of molles : and do attende at no tyme for

for the takynge and destroyinge of them/
vntill the herbis wherein they haue employ-
ed all their labours / be also toured vppe
and perished / and the molles increased in
so infinite nombres / that no industry or la-
bour may suffice to consume them. wherby
the labour is frustrate / and all the gardeine
made vnprofitable and also vnpleasaunt.
In this similitude to the gardeyne / may be
resembled the publike weale: to the gardi-
ners / the gouernours and counsaillours: to
the knottes or beddes / sondrye degrees of
personages: to the molles / vices and son-
dry enormities. wherfore the consultation
is but of a small effecte / wherein the vniuer-
sall astate of the publike weale do nat occu-
pie the more parte of the tyme / and in that
generaltie every particuler astate be nat di-
ligently ordered. For as Tulli sayeth / they
that consulte for parte of the people and
neglecte the residue / they brynge in to the
citic or countre a thyng mooste perni-
cious / that is to say / sedition and discorde.
whereof it hapnethe that some wyll seeme
to fauoure the multitude: other be incli-
ned to leene to the beste sorte / fewe do stu-
die for all vniuersallye. whiche hath bene
the cause that nat onely Athenes (whiche
Tulli

Ci. Offic.
li. i.

The Governour.

Tulli dothe name) but also the citie and empyre of Rome with diuers other cities & realmes haue decayed & ben finally brought in extreme desolation.

Plato in
lacheze.

Also Plato in his booke of fortitude / sayeth in the persone of Socrates. whan so euer a man seketh a thinge for cause of an other thyng / the consultation aught to be alway of that thyng / for whose cause the other thing is sought for / & nat of that which is sought for because of the other thyng. And surely wise men do consider / that damage often tymes hapneth by abusinge the due fourme of consultation : men like euill Physicians sekynge for medicynes or they perfectly knowe the sicknesses. And as euill marchauntes do vtter firste the wares and comodities of straungers whiles straungers be robbynge of their owne cofers.

Therefore these thinges that I haue reberfed concerning consultation ought to be of all men in authoritie substacially pondered / and moost vigilauntly obserued / if they intende to be to their publike weale profitable : for the whiche purpose onely / they be called to be gouernours. And this conclude I to write any more of consultation / whiche is the last part of morall Sapience and the begyn

begynnyng of sapience politike. Nowe all
 ye reders that desire to haue your children
 to be gouernours or in any other authoritie
 in the publike weale of your countrey / if ye
 bringe them vp and instructe them in suche
 fourme as in this booke is declared / they
 shall than seme to all men worthy to be in
 authoritie / honour / and noblesse. And all
 that is vnder their gouernaunce shall pro-
 spere and come to perfection: and as a pre-
 cious stone in a ryche ouche / they shall be
 beholden and wondred at: and after the
 dethe of their body / their soules for their
 endeuour / shall be incomprehensibly rewar-
 ded of the gyuer of wisedome to whome
 onely be gyuen eternall glorie. Amen.

τέλος.

Thomas Berthelet regius im-
 pressor excudebat. Cum
 priuilegio.

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